

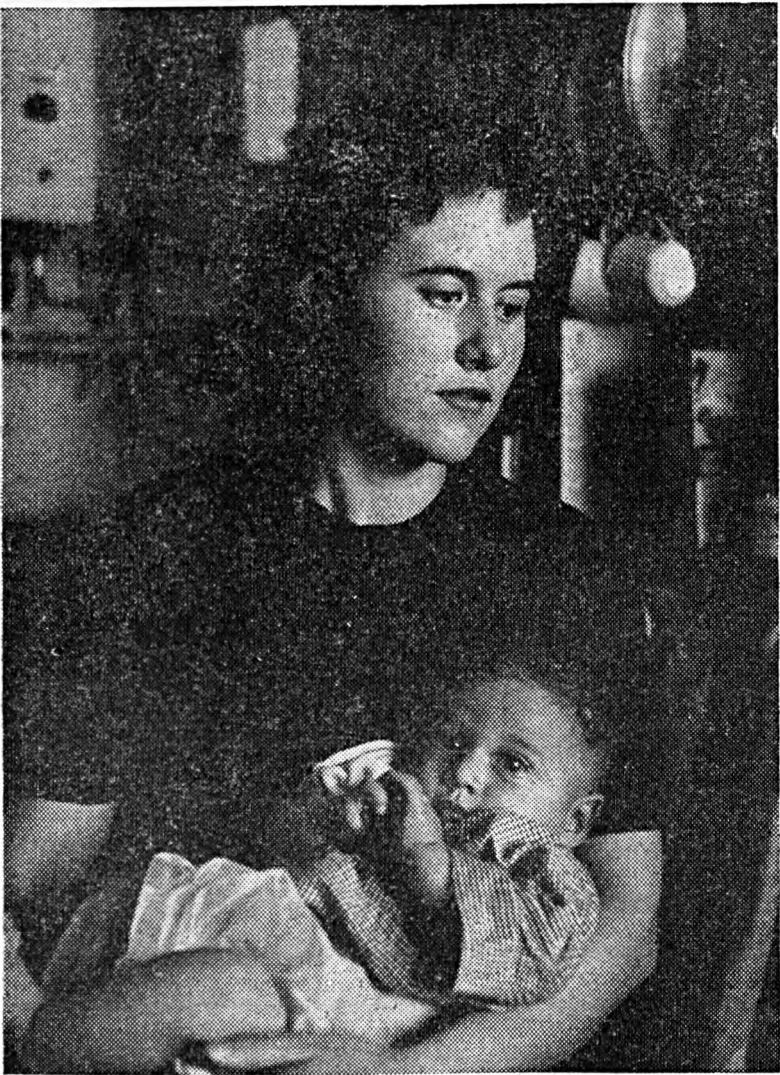


No. 1,187 London, March 27, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

# WHAT HAVE WE



# SILENTLY SAID 'YES' TO?



**PRESSMAN:** What happens when an H-bomb goes off? How big is the area of destruction?

**MR. STRAUSS:** (Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission): In effect it can be made as large as you wish, as large as military requirement demands. That is to say, an H-bomb can be made as large as, well, large enough to 'take out' a city.

**REPORTERS:** What!

**MR. STRAUSS:** To take out a city, to destroy a city.

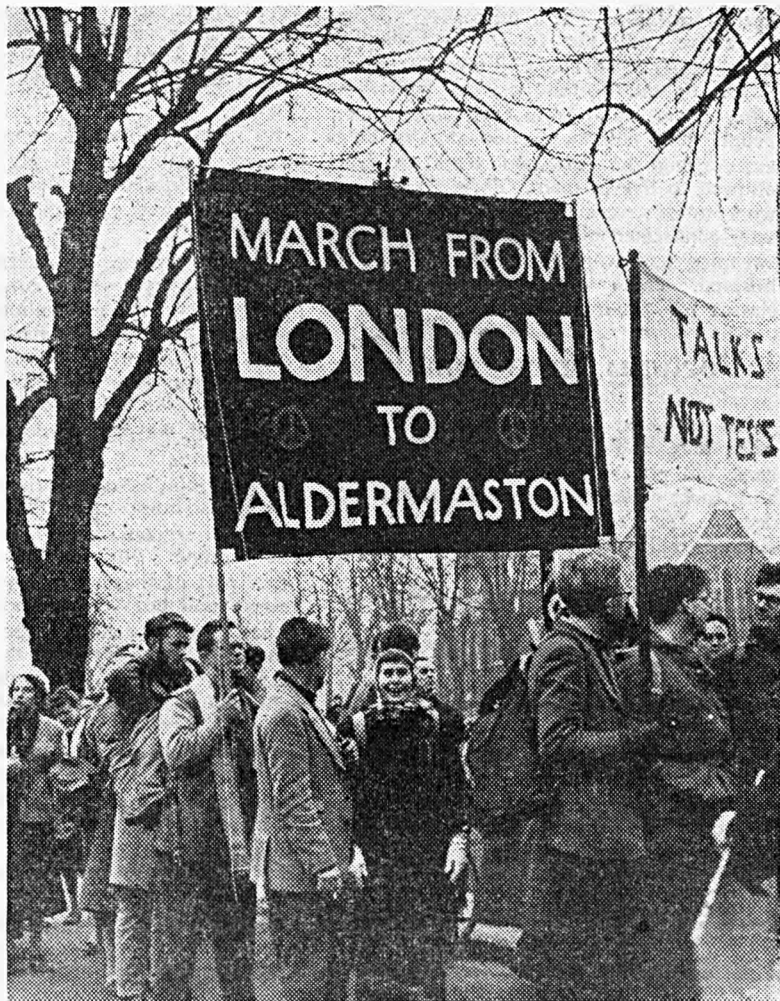
**REPORTER:** How big a city?

**MR. STRAUSS:** Any city.

**REPORTER:** New York?

**MR. STRAUSS:** The metropolitan area, yes.

*Since the exchange at a press conference in March, 1954, both the USA and the USSR have been able to make more powerful bombs.*



## ON OTHER PAGES

**WHY I AM MARCHING** ... page ten

Michael Howard, Fenner Brockway, MP, Gwen Catchpool, Konrad Tempel.

**"TELL US ABOUT THE ATROCITIES"** ... page two

By Robin Prising, American actor who as a boy was held by the Japanese as a civilian prisoner of war.

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**GERMAN BARRACKS INTO GREEK SCHOOL** ... page seven

**YOUNG QUAKERS OFF TO RUSSIA** ... page three

Contributors include: Fenner Brockway, MP, Christopher Farley,

Sybil Morrison, Ralph Parker, Gene Sharp.

Photos left and right are by Roger Mayne; top, Weltkrieg im Bild.



# 'Tell us about the atrocities'

STARVATION is impossible to forget. I remember vividly the handful of cornmeal we received twice a day for the last five months of prison camp. It was almost liquid, filled with worms and tiny stones that cracked one's teeth, and we had neither sugar nor salt in it.

It was made in huge vats by the strongest men interned with us. They used to stand over the vats stirring it with long paddles that looked like oars. The men often fainted from heat and hunger. On Sundays we were given coconut milk with our meal—it was so delicious that I could barely stand its taste. Of course this is not all we ate; leaves of trees and shrubs, grass, birds, cats and mice we found and cooked for ourselves. Some people managed to save a little canned food and ate it sparingly as long as it lasted.

I remember the time an old man died of starvation. He was found dead in his bed. He always expected times to get worse and saved his canned food under his bed. Everyone started quarrelling over his supplies. In the midst of the argument I stole a can of corned beef. It was so rich and salty, and I gobbled it so quickly, that I became sick at once.

## First two years

At night we slept fitfully, listening to the movements and cries of rats, our bodies eaten by bedbugs and lice. The tropical heat was most painful, as we had no salt in our food, which created a terrible feeling that we wanted to perspire and could not.

We woke in the morning to a cracked record played over the public address system: "Good morning! Good morning! Sunbeams are dancing..." Then the Japanese would bark orders, over the loudspeaker, which would be translated by an interpreter. This loudspeaker would suddenly come on, all during the day. "Will Mr. Green report to the Commandant's office?" "Mr. Brown! Mr. Brown, report to the Commandant's office." It might mean nothing at all—or something very serious. Perhaps Mr. Green had been suspected of having a radio or Mr. Brown of communicating with the outside. That meant torture and perhaps even death. I lived in fear lest my parents' names be called.

Life during the first two years had not been impossible. The loudspeaker was not as active, and the food was adequate. People learned to adapt to crowded conditions. In the dormitories the beds were barely a foot apart from each other. Some people built shacks around the buildings and during the first two years we were allowed to live in them. There was always work to do: vegetable gardening (produce later confiscated by the Japanese), washing, sweeping and work in the kitchen or the hospital. There were books to read and classes for children.

## Portions grew smaller

We stood in line for food. The lines were long and tiring. We ate from tin cans, old plates or pots and had a spoon and fork. The first year the food was decent. We had cracked-wheat cereal and canned milk for breakfast. Lunch and dinner usually consisted of fish, rice and native greens. We used to get chicken once a week and sweet potatoes. After the first ten months the cracked wheat disappeared and rice cereal was substituted.

By the middle of the second year the portions had grown smaller. The fresh fish was supplanted by rotten sun-dried minnows (which I could never eat). The first months of the last year found us on minnow, rice, greens and coconut milk. One by one they all disappeared until we

## By Robin Prising

were given the cornmeal rations which had been rotting in the warehouses.

Many Japanese were cruel but some were kind. Most of them liked children, but others teased hungry children with food "Here baby! Banana," and after giving it to the child the soldier would snatch it back and laugh. Japanese women seemed to be kind though we had few dealings with them. The Geisha and Jo-Ro used to come to gratify the Japanese soldiers. They tripped along in their kimonos and hid food in their long sleeves and tossed it to the children.

## A kind Japanese

Colonel Ohashi was a nice Japanese. He treated one with concern and courtesy. When I was nine my parents had been taken to a hospital outside the main prison camp. This was a small prison hospital for convalescents. Soon after they left I came down with measles, whooping cough and diphtheria, one after the other.

When I was recovering Ohashi passed by my bed on his inspection. I begged him to send me to my parents. He was extremely kind and patted my head and told me not to worry, he would do his best. In several weeks he had me transferred. It was obvious that Colonel Ohashi disliked war and the position he was in, but like all soldiers he was trained to do his duty. When the American troops arrived he committed *hara-kiri*.

We had to bow to all Japanese whenever they passed us or spoke to us. They considered us a third-class people (as we were white) and were anxious to remind us of the fact. However, it had one advantage (besides being a lesson to colonialists) and that was that white women were usually left alone.

Colonel Shita was the opposite of Colonel Ohashi. He was sadistic and took great joy in slapping faces and seeing us cringe before him. I once pretended I did not see him and received a great clout on the face. He grabbed his sword with such vigour that it came off his belt—sheath and all—and he brandished it over my head. He yelled and stamped in a fury as I managed to run away. (I was eleven when this happened.)

## The Americans came

When the days of starvation came we would have eight or nine deaths a day. The Japanese called it heart failure. Each day a horse and carriage came and was loaded with plywood coffins in which the dead lay.

By this time we were all weak with hunger. I couldn't hold my knees straight and they knocked together when I tried to hurry. At twelve years old I weighed about 50 pounds.

Towards the end of internment we had air-raids every day. American planes bombed military installations. We were forbidden to watch bombings and dog-fights. We did watch them, however, and those caught were forced to stare at the sun, eyes wide open for two hours. A soldier with bayonet made certain of this.

On February 3, 1945, after three years and two months of imprisonment, American tanks burst open the gates of our prison. It seemed such a day of jubilation and triumph. But the Japanese held the larger part of the city and by the next day trained their guns on our prison camp and shelled it by the hour. The shelling continued for many days and there were large casualties. A little girl's mother was killed right before her. I shall never forget how the child went into a daze and wandered about the camp singing "How beautiful is the moon in the tropic night." It was her mother's favourite song. And then people died because they had no strength left and nothing further to live for. Others died from eating too much after months of starvation.

Manila became a city of street fighting. The armless, the legless, the bloodspattered streamed through the streets as the Japanese blew up buildings and the Ameri-

cans advanced. Death enveloped us in the hot driving sun of those days.

The coffins of the dead piled up in the square before the main building of our camp. There were not enough grave-diggers to bury them quickly enough. The coffins were leaking, and in the hot sun the stench rose, filling the air with the putrid odour of death.

Suddenly, as I was walking among these whitewashed boxes of the dead, I knew that Life was holy and very important. Nothing could justify this massacre. I sickened with the odour of death and in that instant realised the value of life.

It took little time for me to learn that American soldiers were also an army of occupation. Our prison camp was strewn with their litter. Children blew up their used condoms like balloons. They learned the meaning of sex in ugly ways. In the streets of Manila the women offered to sell themselves to the GIs. But instead they would pick out the young sister of a family—perhaps 11 or 12 years old—because she was less likely to carry venereal disease. They were cruel to the prisoners they took and teased them just as the Japanese had done.

## Souvenirs from the dying

When we were repatriated to America the war was almost over. The Japanese were surrendering everywhere but were often shot instead of being taken prisoners. After I had been in America for three months the news of the bombing of Hiroshima came. "Aren't you glad? We've won the war!" I wept and wept and wept. I was haunted by visions of Japanese faces; the thousands of armless and legless of Manila rushed to my mind. No, the bombing of Hiroshima did no good whatever; it only added to the carnage; it merely heaped the corpses of the war in higher piles. Then Nagasaki was bombed—Japan's most Christian city.

"Tell us about the Japanese atrocities," people would cry. "I bet you're glad to be back in the good old USA." Instead I found myself telling of the last time I saw Colonel Shita. After the American troops came he has been shot as a sniper. He lay in a little room next to the women's lavatory in the main building. He was shot in the belly and lay on the floor groaning and thrashing about. No medical aid was given him.

For three days the ex-prisoners filed into the room and watched him. They tore off his buttons for souvenirs. I watched appalled. After I left, a man sliced off his ear with a razor and kept it in alcohol. That night Colonel Shita died.

I wondered why people wanted to know about Japanese atrocities. I didn't realise then that they couldn't really understand what the war meant. It was all like a movie to them.

## On the threshold

Today the world stands on the threshold of World War III. This time our great ally Russia has turned into the savage enemy. For years there have been countless opportunities for America and Russia to negotiate for peace. But instead both sides have stockpiled the deadliest weapons known to man. These nations threaten humanity itself with extinction. I refuse to choose between these sides—both offer only death. I refuse to accept the sentimental rubbish that the atomic bombs will never be used. America has already used them on human beings—not only once but twice.

I was very fortunate when my life was spared in World War II. I think it was so that I might be able to raise my voice against war and plead for life. I have seen the death and destruction of war, all of which were the results of soldiers doing their duty. Though I do not hate soldiers, I despise the servility in men that leads them to conform and obey. This is the time to refuse to join armies and instead to parade on the streets against war. Communism can be resisted without the use of arms.

It is almost too late for hope—time is running out swiftly—but faith in life has always triumphed, even where hope has failed.—Reprinted from *Liberation*.

# Handbook for action

Gene Sharp reviews

Essays on Non-Violent Action, by Bradford Lyttle. Chicago, 1959. 44 pp. (mimeo), 25 cents.

THIS booklet is a *must* for all who would intelligently consider the *pros* and *cons* of non-violent resistance and direct action in today's peace movement, and for all leaders and potential leaders of non-violent action projects for nuclear disarmament.

Bradford Lyttle has had two purposes in writing these essays (1) to contribute to a general theory of non-violent action, and (2) to outline how to proceed in conducting a specific project.

The author assumes knowledge of past non-violent direct action projects—especially the 1957 Nevada attempt to halt A-tests and the 1958 Cheyenne missile base actions. Readers therefore may find it helpful to check past reports in PN on these.

The essays are largely oriented toward the American scene. However, this booklet is highly relevant for pacifists and nuclear disarmament campaigners everywhere. It is clearly the first "handbook" in the field.

The author copes with the question of power, demonstrates that NVA is a desirable supplement to educational methods, and establishes his case for keeping the organisational structure of such projects separate from that of the established peace organisations.

There is extensive discussion of the principles and methods underlying specific projects, ranging from such organisational matters as leadership and necessary equipment to methods of appealing to reason, the role of integrity, and the power of voluntary suffering. The author points out that the latter is not conspicuous among the usual methods of peace organisations.

He makes a very useful distinction between the terms "non-violent obstruction" (when by sheer numbers or distribution volunteers physically, though temporarily, obstruct work despite possible serious attempts to remove them or lorry drivers to run over them), and "non-violent interjection" (placing one's body between a person and the objective of his work when volunteers are few enough or so distributed as to be a less formidable physical obstacle—they can be removed or run over—but a greater psychological obstacle).

In the concluding pages, Bradford Lyttle outlines steps in organising and conducting a hypothetical action project. The discussion of the role and principles of leadership is good. The comments on fasting are helpful, but further refinement in the use of the fast and the importance of a clear focus for it is still needed.

There are weaknesses in the booklet. For example, the Gandhian experience concerning the necessity of careful selection of volunteers is insufficiently considered in the discussion of the dangers of participation of emotionally disturbed persons in the projects. The author's analysis of the "built-in safeguard" in NVA in dangerous projects does not apply where "uncontrollable suffering and death" are very unlikely consequences of the project.

The principle that the leadership has a responsibility to accept or decline the services of volunteers on projects still stands, in my view, and is especially important in actions with limited numbers or in crucial situations.

The author's penetrating insight and knowledge revealed in this and other pamphlets and articles have now established him as an important thinker in this field whose ideas and analyses must be reckoned with. In this booklet the author is neither under the impression he possesses the final knowledge of the subject, nor afraid to call a spade a spade. This is refreshing.

Now that the initiative in preparing a

● ON PAGE THREE

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# Is this party 'a fitting medium'?

By LAURENS OTTER

The Vote is pure expediency.—A. J. P. Taylor, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament National Conference, 1959.

I invite my fellow workers against nuclear weapons to take in their stride the necessary compromise that will be involved in voting Labour.—Dr. Donald Soper, Tribune, March 13.

DR. DONALD SOPER is rightly considered the most honest living Labour politician; so despite certain personal disagreements, largely due to differing churchmanship, I always read his column in Tribune first.

A fortnight ago I read: "Quite apart from the perils of fascism that quickly arise when the ballot box is ignored or discredited, the Labour Party, which is the expression of a political movement rather than a political dogma, is a fitting medium for the achievement of the aims of the campaign against nuclear weapons."

Last week I resolved to put Labour politicians high on the list of people for whom one should exercise more Christian charity (or shall we say, perhaps, forbearance?) and to do my bit of "possible Christianity" by going out to a Labour meeting at the Harrow by-election—and incidentally to sell Peace News.

Dingle Foot, Labour MP for Ipswich, was speaking first, a man for whom years ago (when a Liberal) I had the greatest admiration.

## RADICAL TRADITION

He personified the radical tradition; his attacks on the then Labour Government on conscription, on the making of the Atom bomb (uranium), on Cyprus (the 1948 bungle), and the Central African Federation inspired the radical young Liberals throughout the country.

It was, therefore, of no little interest to hear his present position.

Central African Federation was mentioned, but not its history; though we were assured, "in the words of that great man Mr. Churchill, it is necessary to condemn the past to safeguard the present."

We were told that the Cyprus trouble started in 1954 (and that the Party of Commander Courtney—the Tory candidate—had never outgrown gunboat colonialism).

When did Mr. Foot forget who sent the navy in 1931?

We were told that the Labour Party believed that the time had come at which it

ought to be possible to have talks with other Great Powers, after which it might conceivably—with a great deal of care—be feasible that controlled disarmament—partial, of course!—might come about.

There was, we were told, "a division of opinion on the subject," but he was not one of the people who "believed in leaving Britain defenceless."

Conscription wasn't mentioned. We were reminded about Suez and Quemoy—but not, curiously, about Lebanon or Jordan. And Suez was mentioned only from a financial angle and not a moral one.

Then the Labour Candidate came in and a little later Mr. Foot left "for a division," so that none of the issues with which he dealt could be touched on in question time.

The Candidate, Mr. Rees, was good on schools—the buildings—and was also informative on administration, and particularly good at advocating the scheme put up by his local council (Tory majority). By and large the scheme appeared to be an improvement on existing education and to reduce bureaucracy.

## An essential step

By 62 votes to nine, the annual convention of the NZ Student Christian Movement declared "that as an essential step towards achieving the abolition of war, the movement considers that even if it has not been the case in the past, it is God's will that New Zealand unilaterally disarm and withdraw from all military pacts such as SEATO and ANZUS."

## Young Quakers off to Russia

FOUR young Quakers, David Blamires, Mary Harper, Irene Jacoby and Leslie Phillips, will visit the Soviet Union at Easter at the invitation of the Central Committee of Soviet Youth Organisations. In 1954 a group of young Russians was entertained by the Young Quakers Central Committee and this will be the return visit.

For some years the Quaker Committee has been concerned about the atmosphere of mutual fear and mistrust among those living under different political and social systems in East and West. During these years they have taken part in various international activities, such as visits to Czechoslovakia, China, the Soviet Union and Poland, with other organisations.

As a result of the experience of the six representatives who attended the 1957 World Youth Festival in Moscow, as observers, the Committee felt it right to send a small delegation of Young Quakers to the Soviet Union this year.

"We are conscious of the limitations of such a delegation," Mary Harper told Peace News, "but believe that if it is undertaken in that spirit of love in which one gives as well as receives, some good

## 'Dissent by demonstration'

VERA BRITAIN, Chairman of the Board of Directors of PN, wrote a lengthy article in The Nation (New York) last week on "Dissent by Demonstration," summarising recent developments in the peace movement in Britain and the US. She was also the author of "British Peace Movements Today," a survey showing that the coming of nuclear armaments had changed the attitude of the public to peace education, which appeared in the Christian Century (Chicago) on November 19, 1958. An analysis of the arms sector of the American economy will completely fill the March 28 issue of The Nation.

He told us that he wouldn't run from criticising nationalised industries, but that the coal industry was far better off than in the 'thirties.

Mr. Rees should know; he was, he said, the son of a Welsh miner who came to London in 1926. One only wonders if the workers in the closed pits in South Wales see the difference as clearly as Mr. Rees; or do they perhaps—ungratefully—resemble the small boy at the zoo, who, when told that the lion wouldn't bite, said, yes, he understood that, but did the lion?

## 'MR HARROW'

Mr. Rees was also good on the dangers to democracy of politicians who consulted their electors only once every five years "with a great fanfare of drums" (sic).

"Social democracy," we were assured, avoids this, but we were given no details as to how. He also assured us that he believed in negotiations for a limited, carefully controlled, measure of disarmament. He was not, of course, a pacifist, and never would be.

When introducing the Candidate, whom he nicknamed "Mr. Harrow," the Chairman, Mr. Allen, told us that Mr. Rees was a local man and no "carpet-bagger" form of vermin which, we were told, is "all too common in politics." Which seemed to be a little rude to Mr. Dingle Foot.

We were also told that Mr. Rees had served with distinction during the war as a Squadron Leader.

The only thing, indeed, we were not told was by what stretch of Dr. Soper's imagination the Party of Squadron Leader Tweedledum differs from that of Commander Tweedledee.

I end, as I began, with two quotations from the same people.

"Obviously there might arise a situation in which no political Party offered the slightest prospect of such redemption." (Dr. Soper, *ibid.*)

"Politicians do not serve ideals, they make use of ideals." (A. J. P. Taylor, Manchester Guardian, November 19, 1953, quoted in Freedom, March 14, 1959.)

## Africa Bureau launches appeal

THE Africa Bureau has launched an urgent appeal for funds to enable it to contribute towards the alleviation of distress and bitterness in Nyasaland and to provide legal and constitutional advice to African leaders in Central and East Africa.

Increasingly heavy demands are being made on the Bureau—a strictly non-party association with members of all three major political parties on its Executive Committee—by Africans, Europeans and Asians who seek information and advice in the heavy work of promoting peaceful societies in Africa and combating injustice, intolerance and hardship.

Trust Funds have already been established to help African school children in South Africa, to sponsor inter-racial ventures such as the St. Faith's Mission Farm started by Mr. and Mrs. Clutton-Brock in Southern Rhodesia, and to help African students in South-West Africa and the High Commission Territories who are anxious to get higher education.

Within the last few weeks Africans and Europeans have turned to the Africa Bureau for assistance for the victims of recent events in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia and for legal aid for Africans whose movements are restricted in Northern Rhodesia.

From Kenya has come a request from African, European and Asian leaders for help in securing the services of a constitutional expert to find a way out of the continuing deadlock.

Michael Scott contributed all the royalties on his book "A Time to Speak" to the appeal fund.



As a result of French and Spanish action in Southern Morocco, it is estimated that some 15,000 Moroccans like this woman have been rendered homeless. A statement issued by the Moroccan Committee for National Defence says the refugees "are seeking refuge in the freed areas of Morocco, escaping from the horrors of a destructive war waged by foreign armed forces, both French and Spanish, which are still occupying this territory."

## Briefly

"A Far Cry," a film made in Korea by Stephen Peet for the Save the Children Fund and the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, will be shown on BBC Television on Easter Day, March 29, at 9.15 p.m. Commentary by Alan Burgess spoken by Peter Finch.

The foundation meeting of a Jersey Independent Labour Party—entirely free of all affiliations to British political groups—was held in St. Helier on Feb. 26. Slum clearance and old age pensions are the principal problems to be tackled. Albert Galliene, Jnr., 120 Halkett Place, St. Helier, is General Secretary.

Unesco held in Bombay recently a five-day national seminar on practical ways of implementing in schools the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values.

## WALES seeks SELF-GOVERNMENT

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"80 Questions and Answers about Plaid Cymru" (The Welsh Party), by Gwynfor Evans, the Party President. (6d.+2d.)

"Which Way to Freedom?" by Gene Sharp (1/-+2d.)

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## CONTRACTING IN

IN Algeria and Kenya, people are tortured and herded into prison camps; in the names of socialism and democracy, people have been murdered in Cyprus and Hungary; America, Russia and Britain continue to make and test weapons that threaten the future of us all; in the undeveloped countries, people die every day from starvation and lack of medical care while the Great Powers continue to spend many millions of pounds on armaments.

We are marching from Aldermaston today because we cannot continue to accept a world where such happenings are every day occurrences. For us the H-bomb is the symbol of the insane system that we can no longer tolerate. We are not sure or agreed on all the answers—one of the reasons why we are marching is to learn from each other—but we are all absolutely convinced that the H-bomb and the threat of nuclear war is not an answer to anything.

★ ★ ★

OUR march is something more than personal witness.

We also want to convince other people of our views. We hope that by Easter Monday everybody in this country will be once more aware of the opposition to Britain's nuclear arms.

But we want to do more than make people aware. We also want to move them to action. Important though the holding of meetings and the distribution of leaflets are, by themselves they are not enough. We need to make a more fundamental challenge to people; to get at the emotional roots of their beliefs. By being prepared to give up our Easter Holiday in order to march from Aldermaston to London, we hope we will begin to make this challenge, and, in making it, we hope that people will come to realise the seriousness with which we hold our beliefs.

★ ★ ★

FOR some years now people have been bored with politics, have felt that they could do nothing that would have an impact on events. By demonstrating our seriousness and our belief that we CAN do something to create a saner world, we hope that we can help to destroy this condition.

This is particularly important in a year when there is likely to be a general election. The politicians have been made very unhappy by the success of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and have tried very hard to stop the Bomb from becoming a serious political issue. The Conservative Government has deliberately misled people about the effects of nuclear testing and the effectiveness of Civil Defence; the Labour Party launched an abortive campaign to end the tests so that it could steal some of the Campaign's thunder, and it has prevented the Bomb from becoming a serious issue in the House of Commons by its refusal to let MPs vote in accordance with their views.

Both Parties hoped that the Campaign would prove to be a five-day wonder. This year's march will show them they are wrong, that we shall not stop until a majority of MPs support us.

★ ★ ★

THOSE of us who are pacifists march because we are more convinced than ever of the soundness of our beliefs. It is now the supporters of war who are on the defensive; they must justify their position; it is the pacifist who is the realist.

We are also convinced that the pacifist insistence on non-violence is central to the development of the struggle against war and imperialism. In particular the demonstrations by American pacifists in the Nevada desert in 1957 and the non-violent bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, have been practical examples of the value of non-violence.

★ ★ ★

IF we are to sum up the reasons for this year's march we cannot do better than quote from a Defence debate speech Mr. Aneurin Bevan made in 1955:

"I would warn members—and this applies not only to the Socialist Party but to Conservatives and the nation as a whole—that the ordinary man and woman is beginning spiritually to contract out of the quarrel. We are displaying the posture of little minds before big events, and the ordinary man in the street is beginning to sense it. He is beginning to realise that we have not got the stature of the occasion."

## Top brass...

IT would seem to be a requirement by the US of its generals that they should have big mouths. Last month we had disclosed to us some of the views of General White, the US Air Force Chief of Staff, and of General Taylor, the US Army Chief of Staff.

For General White there is not at present a condition of peace between the US and Russia. He takes the term "Cold War" in a very literal sense. Russia is "the enemy" and is persistently referred to by the General as such. General White regretted that the US people were not sufficiently cynical. The American people are "frank, open, sincere, honest," whereas the Russians are "the most cynical people on earth."

The General thought, however, that there had been a great improvement in the last few years, and by this he presumably meant that the American people were becoming less frank, open, sincere and honest, and more like the cynical Russians.

General Maxwell Taylor approved of this view expressed by General White, and quoted with approval the first of ten rules that had been enunciated by another US general, General Harrison. This was that in dealing with Communists "Always bear in mind that the man facing you is a criminal."

This, for General Taylor, should be held to have reference to negotiations on the stopping of nuclear tests. He presumably felt that the frank, open, honest, sincere attitude of people like Drs. Libby and Teller was in danger of putting the US at a disadvantage in dealing with shifty Russians.

Another US general, General Donald Putt (Deputy Chief of Staff for Research and Development, US Air Force), wants a US missile base on the moon, so that H-bombs can be discharged from the moon to the earth. "Warheads," he holds, "could be catapulted from shafts sunk deep into the moon's surface," and they thus "might provide a retaliation base of considerable advantage over earth-bound nations."

## ...the catastrophe

NOW in the middle of the discussion as to whether there should be a meeting between the Heads of States, and whether one of the subjects for discussion might be some measure of disengagement in Europe, another US general, General Norstad, in charge of NATO Forces in Europe, has felt called upon to put in his word.

A "military vacuum," he holds, would be a catastrophe. The fact that half the vacuum would be caused by the withdrawal of Russian forces is not a factor that the General appears to be capable of observing. For him it would mean a withdrawal from the area of disengagement of the Western forces—less in number than the Russian forces, incidentally—and so far as the US troops are concerned the General holds that this would be followed by their withdrawal from Europe. "If they are not militarily useful, why are they here?"

General Norstad is far from having the brash qualities of some of the generals he has left at home, but he equally suffers from the brass hat's incapacity to think other than in militarily unilateral terms. All he has to urge against the Western side of the "military vacuum" could be held to be equally "catastrophic" by the Russian group as to their side of it.

If there are to be talks by the Foreign Ministers, to be followed by a meeting of the Heads of States, President Eisenhower might do a lot worse than ask for a moratorium for soldierly statements on policy.

## Today's weapons

BERTRAND RUSSELL, the distinguished British philosopher and President of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, surprised many people in a recent television interview. He affirmed that he had advocated after World War II that "a preventive war" might be made against Russia for failure to accept the Baruch plan. In such a war Earl Russell would have been willing to use atomic bombs ("they are not, of course, nearly as bad as these modern weapons are").

Those who feel a sense of shock at this attitude to Hiroshima-type weapons should ponder on the array of weapons available to the top brass and politicians of today. There are, for example, the tactical nuclear weapons for use in the field. These are the weapons which Mr. George Brown, the Labour Shadow Defence Minister, talks of lobbying into a concentration of, say, 50,000 troops, as if he were using a pea-shooter. This is an integral part of NATO strategy to which opponents of nuclear weapons will have to give considerably more attention this year if they are to produce a coherent policy.

"Have you ever had a moral objection in principle to killing?" Earl Russell was asked by the TV interviewer. "Oh, no," the philosopher replied, "I don't like any kind of general rule like that." More's the pity, because the implications of the world-wide cam-

paign against nuclear weapons point straight in the direction of such an objection, and these implications cannot be ignored.

## A CD Suicide

AT the end of February a Luton police sergeant committed suicide. At the inquest the Coroner remarked that his action appeared to result from the fact that he had begun to worry about the arrangements for Civil Defence lectures which he gave to other members of the police.

This is all we have been able to learn about the case from the national press. It is possible that the local press is more informative. We hope so, for it seems to us that more was called for from the Coroner than the statement to which we have referred.

There are a number of possibilities that could explain this tragedy. Perhaps this police officer was afraid that he would not be equal to the task of handling these lectures. As the sergeant was a man of 44, and presumably an officer of mature experience, this would appear to be improbable. Nevertheless, this is what the meagre report of the Coroner's comments leaves the reader to infer.

A further possibility is that, having to make himself acquainted with the character of nuclear warfare and the farcical irrelevance of what is called "Civil Defence" to the dangers it purports to be a preparation to meet, he found he had more than sufficient reason to "worry about the arrangements."

There is also, of course, the simple possibility that having to look squarely for the first time at the character of the war for which the statesmen of the Great Powers are today preparing—after having taken care like most other people not to contemplate it too closely—he was invaded by a distaste for the world of men in which such things could be impending, and reacted as other sensitive types have done before him.

In any case, the thing is a personal tragedy, and we feel that unless the explanation was that Sergeant Dulieu was weighed down by a sense of personal inadequacy for the duties he was required to undertake, the Coroner, Mr. J. A. I. Drew, should have felt called upon to make the position clear.

## Realities of work

THE Hungarian Government, The Times points out, has followed the Russian example of "linking education with life" by decreeing that its children should spend a day a week in the factories, accustoming themselves to the hard realities of work. The Bulgarians have already sent some of their large central bureaucracy out to work in the fields and the factories, and the East Germans and the Albanians have followed the Chinese example in recommending that Party officers and administrative staff should spend a month a year at hard labour alongside the ordinary worker.

In spite of all their indoctrination, the people of Eastern Europe are showing the same ambitions as those of the West. They want a white-collar job and the way of life of the middle class. In both Bulgaria and Poland polls among students have shown a complete lack of enthusiasm for factory work. They feel that their education entitles them to superior status and work that involves thinking, or at least writing, rather than nothing but manual labour.

In the Marxist tradition, the manual worker is praised in Eastern Europe, yet the people show this strange unwillingness to remain in the ranks of the proletariat. Their action would lead to the withering away of the working class rather than of the State.

But this unwillingness is not surprising. Why should people show enthusiasm for work they do not enjoy? The problem is not how to share the misfortune of work as fairly as possible; it is how to end the situation in which manual work is a genuine misfortune.

It is perfectly clear that capitalism is not a solution. If the worker is merely a "hand" who enables others to gain larger profits in an economy which is geared to war and produces recurring booms and slumps, he cannot be expected to find much satisfaction in his work.

The attempt under State socialism to produce an alternative economy has often removed many of the most appalling working conditions. Its great weakness has been to ignore the human element in work. It has forgotten that it is men who labour, that their work forms their character, that work can have cultural and spiritual value.

If people are to enjoy their labour and feel a significant part of it, this will not happen under massive bureaucratic boards and in monster industrial organisations. "The dignity of labour" will become a reality when workers control their own industry and play the vital part in its organisation. The Polish students have done a service in reminding us of this fact.

IN PERSPECTIVE

# PEOPLE AND PLACES

## Fall-out fears

**THERE** are persistent reports that French H-bombs will be tested, not in the Sahara, but on a small island in the South of the Indian Ocean.

This is the French island of Kerguelen, about halfway between the extreme South of Australia and Africa.

Note that the island is right in the "Roaring Forties"—the currents and winds which sweep round the globe at that latitude.

French Government officials say that Kerguelen's extremely severe climate might make it "not a very suitable spot for nuclear test explosions," but they do not rule out the possibility.

Protests have already started in South Africa, over 2,000 miles West of the island. The leader of this opposition in East London, probably the point on the South African coast nearest to Kerguelen, is Mr. E. W. Hutton, who estimates that fall-out could occur over Port Elizabeth and East London within 25 hours of any test on the island.

He fears that the whole of the South African coastline could be contaminated because, he says, "if a radio-active cloud were fanned by prevailing winds, it would break up when it hit the first range of mountains and fall out over the area. Carried by the Mozambique Current, the contamination would continue right round the coastline."

Mr. Hutton is petitioning General de Gaulle, but meanwhile the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research has begun a study of the possible consequences of nuclear explosions on Kerguelen.

The Council's first thoughts are that the winds that blow over the island would be more likely to carry the radio-active fall-out away from the South African coast than towards it.

Mr. Hutton replies to this that forecasting the direction, distance and spread of radio-activity is not yet an exact science, and that France should be discouraged from considering tests anywhere near South Africa.

He might have added that it has become rather obvious that there is nowhere safe in the world to test these weapons. We have seen radio-active rain in Japan, high fall-out from Siberia in Scandinavia and fatal accidents in the Pacific.

One cannot help recalling the reply of Prime Minister Macmillan once to a question in the Commons about British testing in the Pacific. Asked why these weapons should not be tested nearer home in the Atlantic, he replied that he hoped no Government would be as irresponsible as that!

## Not in the headlines

**"WHY** have the Direct Action Committee kept so quiet since they came out of jail?" "Where is all this new leadership we thought we saw emerging?"

I hear these sort of questions quite often, and here are my replies:

1. The Committee has been working harder than ever, but in quiet, unsensational ways which don't hit the headlines.
2. They have burned much midnight oil formulating a coherent attitude to the coming General Election. Their pamphlet, "Political Implications of a Voters' Veto," which sets out considerations arising from a refusal to support Big-Bomb candidates, makes powerful reading.
3. They have fulfilled a tremendous number of speaking engagements all over the country, and had private talks with several political leaders.
4. They campaigned for several weeks for Wednesday's by-election in South-West Norfolk, asking those who opposed the Bomb not to vote for any candidate who would not vote against nuclear weapons in the Commons. (None of the candidates satisfied their requirements.)
5. They have drawn up a policy state-

ment which will be available very shortly.

6. They have been working in the vicinity of another rocket base in Norfolk—at Watton—visiting workers' homes, seeing Trade Unionists, putting leaflets in every letterbox, and preparing for possible future activities. Oxford Quaker Will Warren has joined the Committee full-time and is in charge of the organisation of this work. (Incidentally, I understand that they are resisting the temptation to undertake fresh action before adequate preparations have been made. At times of action the money comes in much more steadily!)

## A Chairman's warning

**"THERE** is no set pattern of Chairman's Report," began the Chairman at this year's Annual General Meeting of Northern Dairies Limited in Hull.

This might have been a warning of what was to come, for in the middle of his report he stated: "It is my duty as Chairman of a large dairy company to point out the extra risks that the milk trade runs on the occasion of every nuclear bomb test, as the fall-out tends to spread over large grazing areas."

"I therefore appeal to all nations (and our own particularly) to cease from this activity which could bring special danger to many trades, particularly to milk."

Alec Horsley is no conventional company chairman. He is a Quaker and former Sheriff of Hull, and has been on a Quaker mission to Russia.

His opening remark, in fact, introduced a most unusual beginning to a Report. "As I write my draft report on Boxing Day morning," he said, "when almost all the Northern Dairy staff are doing a normal day's work... there can only be one beginning. It must be the working staff. On behalf of the Board of Directors and Shareholders, I thank the 2,000 workers (of whom 200 are shareholders) for their continued loyalty, energy and co-operation throughout the year."

## Bombs before want

**THERE** are few things more calculated to disturb thinking people than solid, accurate, awkward, unanswerable facts. You might like to try some on your friends.

In 1958 the British Government was assessed for the following contributions to the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies:

To UN (excluding the Emergency Force), £1,175,477; Food and Agriculture Organisation, £303,726; World Health Organisation, £414,198; UNESCO, £265,958; International Labour Organisation, £275,277; International Civil Aviation Organisation, £103,044; World Meteorological Organisation, £8,829; International Telecommunications, £30,052; Universal Postal Union, £3,900; International Atomic Energy Agency, £163,000.

All national contributions for the above are assessed on the principle of capacity to pay, which is based on national income. Now here are the British Government's voluntary contributions to the UN voluntary funds:

To the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, £800,000; Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, £2,000,000; Children's Fund, £235,000; Refugee Fund, £100,000.

These miserable paltry sums should now be compared with the Government's estimate of £1,514,130,000 for war preparations for the coming year. The contribution to UN is 0.077 per cent of the military bill. Or, if you prefer, for every £1 the Government gives to the Refugee Fund it puts over £15,000 down the military drain. The UN is making a big effort now to solve the refugee problem.

I should have mentioned that, in case you are challenged, the UN figures are taken from a written answer in the House of Commons Official Report for January 23.

## The wages of war

**I** CAN'T do better than print the following intact. It comes from the column by "Freeman" in the Hornchurch News of February 12:

Supposing a man from the United Nations had knocked at your door ten years ago and said, "Good morning, Mr. Jones, we plan to develop a number of backward countries, banish famine, settle the refugee problem, take care of the world's leper millions, and do our best to remove the causes of war generally during the next ten years. This will be costly and we propose to meet the expense by sending a bill at the end of the period. As you have a wife and two children your bill will be about £1,088 or £272 a head."

You would probably have laughed in his face or at best offered him a small donation. Yet, are you aware that someone has taken that amount during the period and to what use the money has been put? The collecting agent was Her Majesty's Government and the use was The Defence of Britain.

In ten years our Defence expenditure has been £13,600,000,000 or £272 for every man, woman and child in the country. Nearly half the amount went to science and engineering—in short, nuclear weapons.

Our much travelled Premier, when he was thousands of miles from Britain, once congratulated its citizens on their calm acceptance of the fact that there was no public defence against enemy nuclear weapons. May I now add my own congratulations on their calm acceptance of this armaments bill in view of the fact that it was paid for something that has been described as non-existent!

Some people have not accepted it calmly of course, but they are in a minority. A mad minority some say. When you really think about it, however, who is truly mad?

Madness in great ones, must not unwatch'd go.—Hamlet.

—Phyz

## Italians hear about Swaffham protest

**ITALIANS** have been hearing about the world-wide protests against nuclear weapons and tests through the lectures and writings of the veteran Italian pacifist, Professor Giovanni Pioli. Using material taken from Peace News and the Christian pacifist monthly, Reconciliation, he has told meetings in Italy about the Aldermaston, Hiroshima and Washington marches, the demonstrations at the French atom plant at Marcoule and at Swaffham, and the big rallies in Paris, Hamburg and other cities.

"I have ended my reports," the Professor told Peace News recently, "by deploring the fact that, in Italy, except for the general protests of the conscientious objectors in prison and the Conferences on non-violence at Perugia, there has been very little activity against atomic missiles."

Professor Pioli has recently published two volumes: "For the Renunciation of Violence" and "For the Abolition of War." It was for publishing works such as these during the Fascist regime that Professor Pioli was brought to trial by Mussolini's Government.

## 'A ROCKET' IN MANCHESTER

The Manchester Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are co-operating with The Manchester Unity Theatre Group in presenting a performance of "A Rocket for the Governor" at The Lesser Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Saturday, April 4. Tickets for this play, which provides good propaganda for the Campaign, as well as first-rate entertainment, can be obtained at the door or by postal application to: 14 Tib Lane, Cross Street, Manchester 2. Prices: 3s. and 4s.

**India's arms bill** for the financial year 1959-60 is estimated at £182,010,000—about 12 per cent of Britain's.

## PEACE AIR LIFT

At 7.45 a.m. on Tuesday last week a jet air liner touched down at London Airport. It brought in from Boston, Massachusetts, for Peace News, plans of "Act for Peace" demonstrations in six American cities.



We caught the Wednesday night London-Boston plane with art proofs of our news story—wanted by our American friends for the production of offset leaflets in the USA to promote both Peace News and the demonstrations.

Spreading news of peace activities is one of the particular contributions which PN, with its world-wide band of peace correspondents, can make to the campaign for a sane nuclear policy.

If you value this work we hope you will also want to support the Peace News Fund which finances the only weekly peace newspaper in the world.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since March 13: £122 12s. 11d.

Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £242 13s. 2d.

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## Seven years of the beast

ONLY now are the first accounts of the nightmare life in Batista's Cuba reaching the outside world. Only now is it possible for anyone to reveal how the entire Republic had been turned into a gambling den, the luxury casinos into drug peddling gangsters' lairs, the taxes on all of which found their way into the pockets of the ruling dictatorship.

This picture of life under Batista has come from Dr. Pablo Madan of Santiago de Cuba in a letter to the War Resisters' International.

Dr. Madan tells how the dictatorship, through the calculated poverty it inflicted, was able to mobilise a great army of informers, spies and numerous organisations for suppression. The army, the navy, the police and these other organisations, including one nick-named "the tigers," "were converted into gangs of torturers, thieves, incendiaries, assassins, and at times committed excesses which would seem incredible to normal people." The tentacles of this legion for suppression extended throughout the whole island and into many countries where exiled Cubans were living.

### Repression and torture

Bolstered by the outlook which stems from former colonial domination, the regime ruled for seven years with refined sadism, denying all constitutional rights, maintaining nearly continuous martial law, liquidating at least 20,000 people, torturing without respect for age or sex, burning, looting and even bombing and strafing with planes.

During the registration of dwellings the dictatorship's stooges stole indiscriminately, their special preselection being for radios, television sets and refrigerators.

Recalling the revolution, Dr. Madan describes the two years of guerilla warfare, commando tactics, civil resistance, and the hardships of Castro's forces in the mountains.

Batista's army was unable to win a single battle despite its tanks, aeroplanes and variety of cannons because the people "felt in their bones the effects of the dictatorship and conspired against it, either consciously or unconsciously, and the morale of Castro's rebels remained high."

### Fake election

During the last three months of fighting the rebel forces handed over to the Cuban and International Red Cross several hundred prisoners who bore no signs of having been bullied or tortured. But during this period Batista's army handed over neither wounded nor prisoners—all had been slaughtered.

The rebels applied a series of principles to the territories they captured: prohibition of liquor, gambling and theft and the beginning of education for the peasants. Schools were opened despite the war.

Last November, while the struggle was still raging, a pretence general election was held. But the people did not vote. "By doing this they were voting for the people." Some time before the election the rebels, who had many people from the professions in their ranks, formulated sanctions against those who took part in the "electoral comedy."

Finally "the Beast of Kunquene" (Batista) fled and Castro's forces moved in taking prisoner some of the high officials. Those who had fought against Castro were not penalised, but those who were found to have committed tortures, killing or burning and looting were, in the extreme cases, shot.

Dr. Madan refutes many of the reports of the trials instituted by Castro. The laws under which Batista's colleagues were tried were formulated before, not after, the dictator's flight. Prisoners were tried individually, not en masse.

All is not yet solved in Cuba, but Dr. Madan believes the people will find a way to live in liberty.

# IN THE SLUMS OF AMERICA'S ISLAND BASTION

## A WALK THROUGH PUERTO RICO

By Seymour Eichel and Al Uhrie

At the end of December last year the Peacemakers, the American pacifist group, walked from Guanica Bay in Puerto Rico to San Juan to protest against the continued domination of Puerto Rico by a foreign power. In this article, reprinted from *The Peacemaker*, two of the marchers describe the march and what they saw and learned of Puerto Rico.

The US War Department's claim that the island is needed as a base has probably been the greatest factor in preventing the fulfilment of President Roosevelt's recommendation that independence be granted.

The island, which is in the West Indies, has an elected Governor (Munoz).

BECAUSE so many airlines were on strike during the holiday season, we arrived in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on the afternoon of Dec. 25, about ten hours later than our Peacemaker "Peace and Good Will Walk" was to have begun.

Our official starting point in Guanica for the walk was a badly neglected monument erected to the dead of the Spanish American War, the war by which the United States gained possession of Puerto Rico.

### LEAFLETS AND GREETINGS

A friendly family passing by in a car slowed down to read our posters which Art Harvey had put together and lettered in Spanish. The signs read: "Pacifists Walking from Guanica to San Juan," and "We Oppose Military and Congressional Domination of The United States in Puerto Rico."

In addition to the signs, we had leaflets, boxes of which had been distributed by friends along our route so that as we walked into a certain town a new supply of leaflets would be waiting for us.

These leaflets, like the signs, emphasised our pacifist position and our commitment to non-violence. They were distributed all along our walk, through the countryside as well as in cities. From the beginning of the walk to the end, Wally Nelson was a tireless distributor, running up to gates of country homes or on to the porches in the cities, seeing to it that no one was overlooked.

Because of thorough and favourable press and radio coverage, people along the route were expecting us, and we could hear them say, "Look, here come the pacifists," or in pity, "From Guanica to San Juan, Ay!"

Except for a few instances in which people refused our pamphlets, or two instances where we were called Communists, or the one instance where someone called after us to go home, or another instance in which a dignified old man angrily tore our leaflet to shreds, saying, "I don't like this," our reception was friendly. One or two people did tell us they were happy with "Papa" Munoz (their word for him, not ours).

### SHACKS AND POVERTY

Individuals went out of their way throughout the trip to offer hospitality to us, or where they feared to show their friendship openly, they did small favours for us. People passing us along the road in cars would wave and shout their welcome to us. Some stopped their cars and got out to greet us. Many privately expressed strong support and heartfelt gratitude for the purpose of our walk. A few walked with us for a way.

While we enjoyed the rugged beauty of this mountainous island, the friendliness of its people, and the children who followed us gleefully into and out of the towns, making us feel like so many pied pipers, we were upset by the obvious signs of poverty which surrounded us, especially the overwhelming number of homes that can only be described as shacks.

Government housing projects are conspicu-

ous in the larger towns, but they have not even begun to replace the slums which cover the island, for as fast as new projects are built, old areas are becoming slums. But the Mayoress of San Juan, where some of the worst housing conditions exist, stated during a visit to Venezuela that her city had solved its slum problem.

The slums of San Juan, indicating the wry humour of its inhabitants, have names such as "La Perla" (the Pearl), and "Los Bravos de Boston" (the Boston Braves—actually the name has nothing to do with the baseball team, as "bravo" in Spanish means fearless, and these people, squatters really, had taken the land their shacks are on).

Several of us visited slum areas in San Juan after the walk was over. Some of these, the worst, are hard to find, and therefore rarely seen by sightseers. We found some of the "houses" in one of these areas made of oversized packing crates, and situated so close together that the streets, which were unpaved, were mere alleyways. Sanitation conditions were primitive.

One house we saw had running water but obviously no drains, so the faucet was fixed against the outside of the house, and the old woman who was washing the family dishes had to lean halfway out of the window, while the water splashed into the alleyway below. Some of the "houses" were built on stilts directly over a lagoon, and some of the outhouses emptied their contents directly into the water. The stench which came from the water is indescribable. Many people keep dogs, and the dogs, being fed last, are even more undernourished than the children.

### CELLS FOR THE ILL

One of the most disturbing things we saw was the depository for the mentally ill behind the Municipal Building in Yauco, the first town we came to after leaving Guanica. Here we saw a row of dark enclosures, each about 6 ft. by 12 ft. in size. The walls of these cells were covered with dirt and cobwebs. The rooms, which apparently contained no sanitary facilities, were hosed out each morning by the janitor, who also had other work. He received \$58 per month for his work. The patients, by the way, may not leave their cells for exercise.

Each cell, seven or eight in all, was occupied by a mentally ill person who had been committed by a local judge, in some cases upon the request of relatives. Most of these prisoners (they certainly weren't patients) were considered dangerous. We saw a woman who appeared calm but whose memory was confused, a violent woman who almost knocked Arthur Harvey's glasses off as he peered through the narrow slot in the door, as well as a sexual deviate, and a man dressed only in a short shirt.

According to the man who was our guide, the people are usually confined there for life. These quarters are supposed to be temporary and the patients are supposed to be removed to the mental hospital in San Juan, but since that too is chronically overcrowded, patients usually live and die in the little cells at Yauco. They are seen by a doctor once a year and apparently receive no other medical attention.

### DOLLARS FOR THE BASES

On the other side of the Municipal Building we found a bulletin board on which were posted notices by Civil Defence authorities. We wonder how Puerto Rico can be called an Associated Free State when hundreds of millions of dollars are poured into the island to make it a military bastion, without the consent of the people of Puerto Rico; when Congress has the right to pass or override any Bill

of the Puerto Rican legislature. At the same time these abominable slums and unbelievable shelters for the mentally ill are permitted.

Throughout the length of our walk we found strong support for our position that the United States should remove its troops and military bases. There is a good deal of anxiety over the possibility of obliteration through bombing. Also, in the eyes of many Puerto Ricans the presence of troops and bases serves as a constant reminder that they are in effect an occupied country, since they as a people have not given their consent to the presence of either the troops or the bases.

The minimum wage in Puerto Rico is still far below ours, and we spoke to one Puerto Rican woman who had worked in an American-owned factory on the island a few years ago. She told us that she did not even receive the minimum wage until she had passed a trial period of a few months. The quota of work they expected from her was unreasonable, too. When finally her pay was raised, her quota was also increased, as if she had not been doing her best previously.

### SILENT PROTEST

We were told that island authorities occasionally look the other way if a North American industrialist explains that he is financially unable to operate at even the island's minimum wage. If employees attempt to unionise, the employer will merely close down his factory. North American industry receives a twelve year exemption from local taxes and other privileges.

Naturally, the climax of our walk was to be a demonstration in front of Casa Blanca, the US military command headquarters. We did not know until we arrived there just what form this demonstration would take. Its hostile, high yellowish walls run for quite a distance, and there are very few gates or doors in it.

We finally chose to stand silently against the heavy wooden doors of Casa Blanca at Sol Street. It was late at night, but the weather was warm and there was a good deal of activity in the streets, and people were clustered around the doorways of their homes. As we stood or sat in silence (some of us were too exhausted to stand), a hush fell over the crowd. When we left after an hour of silence, one could have heard a pin drop.

As one of us commented, we had found a symbolic wall separating the oppressed from the oppressors.

### ARMY WANTS SMILES

The photographers gathered to take pictures of us in front of Casa Blanca, and the army was represented among them. One photographer went over to Al Uhrie, placed his hand on Al's shoulder, and said, "Raise your head, the army wants a good picture of you."

Next he went over to a group of youngsters who had been comparatively quiet up to that point and asked to take a picture of them laughing. This was undoubtedly for propaganda purposes, for one journalist had written in a small English language weekly, published by the Governor's son, that everything was fine in Puerto Rico and that we would be laughed off the island. These were the people who were laughing us off.

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# German barracks into Greek school

By REG. BUTLER

**BUILDING** is due to start this year on new premises for the Quaker School for Girls, located a few miles outside Salonica in northern Greece. Funds for the earthquake-proof premises have been raised through special appeals of the Friends' Service Council.

Since 1945 valuable social work has been done in dilapidated wooden huts left from the German occupation. From these cheerless-looking barracks a succession of Greek village girls have been trained in home-making and mothercraft.

The school was founded by Mrs. Joice Loch, an Australian woman, who, with her husband, had long been associated with relief work in northern Greece. From the early 'twenties, when she first arrived in Greece to help with resettlement of refugees from Turkey, Mrs. Loch made a specialised study of village problems.

Long centuries of stagnation under the Turkish sultans had left living conditions at the mediæval level. The customs and traditions of bygone centuries could not be changed overnight, though the need was desperate. Lack of hygiene and elementary sanitation still takes its toll on villagers' health, with typhoid and dysentery widespread.

Even today Greek village education stops short at the age of 12. Such educa-

tion is almost entirely on classical lines. Hence the need to help raise village living standards, by showing how conditions could be improved by better use of the limited resources normally available in rural Greece.

By teaching more enlightened methods of housewifery and child care, the Quaker School is helping to defeat the hopelessness of rural poverty.

The present English co-principals, Mr. and Mrs. Jones, play a devoted part in the struggle against prejudice and inertia. Forty-five girls aged 15 to 17 are given a two-year residential course in practical home economies.

They learn elementary dietetic principles that will pay dividends in the future health of their families. They learn simple hygiene and home nursing. Above all, they learn how to live together in a community, and contribute towards its welfare.

Girls taking the course are carefully picked for strength of character. On returning to their villages they must be able to withstand the narrow-minded suspicion of older women who resent any implied criticism of their age-old methods. The task of battling against tradition calls for patience and conviction.

Over the years, several girls from each village are selected to be able to work together, instead of in isolation. Most of the girls are children of refugees from Anatolia, transferred in the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece in 1923 and 1924.

The school day begins at 7 a.m., followed half an hour later by a simple breakfast. The morning is passed in house-work, exercise and games, gardening, sewing or handicrafts. The afternoon is mainly devoted to class work, to include academic subjects together with lessons in food preservation, housekeeping, hygiene, first aid and baby care.

**House in the grounds**  
A novel feature is the *spitaki*—"the little house"—specially built in the school grounds. The girls take turns, a week at a time, in running the cottage entirely under village conditions—baking their bread, cooking meals, drawing water, tending the chickens.

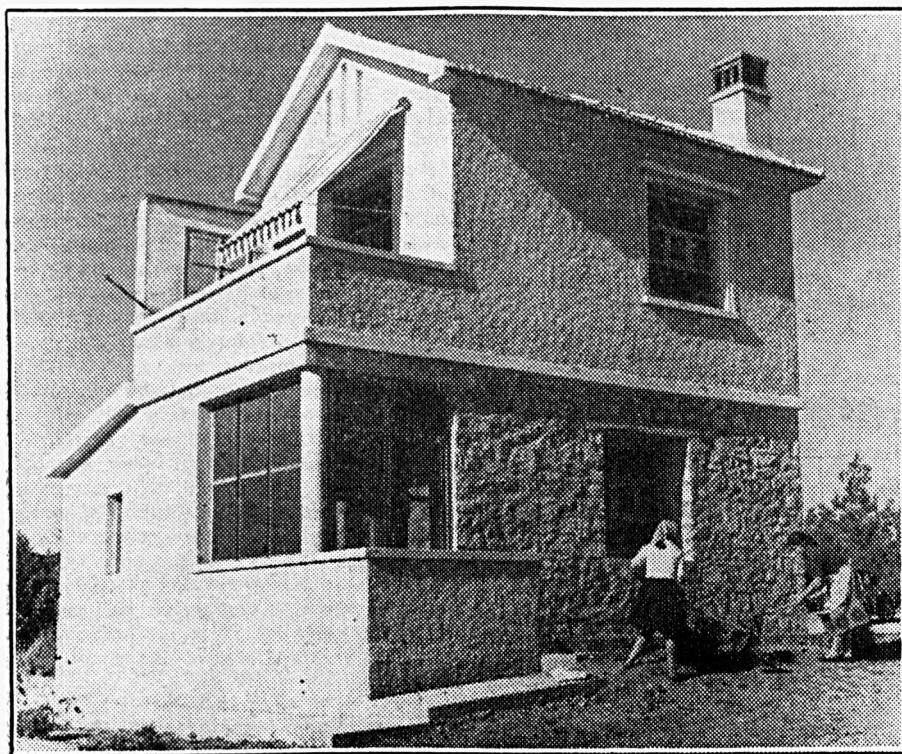
For maximum realism a baby is borrowed at the beginning of the school year from a Salonica foundling home, and is carefully tended by the girls under expert guidance.

The child always responds favourably to up-to-date baby care ideas which offer a practical demonstration of their value in comparison with the primitive notions current among most Greek mothers. The child is invariably adopted by Greek parents at the end of the school year.

Biggest tribute to the Quakers' pioneer work is that three semi-government schools have since been established in other parts of Greece, modelled on the Quaker School principles.



Mr. and Mrs. Noel Jones, co-principals of the school since 1956.



The "practice cottage" with the nursery and bedrooms above and living room and kitchen below. The two girls in charge for the week occupy themselves with the garden.



The Home Economics teacher demonstrates the bottling of egg-plant, which provides a more varied winter diet.

## 'DON'T PAY MY FINE'

The Rev. Maurice McCrackin, an American Congregational minister, who was sentenced to an indefinite term in jail on November 24 for refusing to pay his taxes because they were used for the manufacture of arms, has issued the following statement:

MY unwillingness to pay or to have my fine paid for me is not a decision that I have made recently. Years ago I decided that if my refusal to pay taxes for war should lead to my being fined and imprisoned, I would be as unwilling to pay the fine as I have been to pay my taxes. Now I have an added reason for not wanting the fine paid, for now I know some of the evils of our prison system at first hand.

Things are happening today in various federal penitentiaries that are as vicious and sadistic as a Nazi concentration camp. They are not done in such wholesale fashion, but numerous practices are as unjust and as cruel. These also are evils to which I do not wish to give any aid or comfort.

From the time of my first arrest last September, I have not co-operated in any way with the Federal Court. This is not because I have a quarrel with courts *per se*, but because this particular court is a part of an evil system which makes war possible, for it lends its full weight of support in the carrying out of the will of the Internal Revenue Service. It is both the Revenue Department and the Court that are waging this attack upon my conscience, an attack which was climaxed in the prison sentence and fine.

### A better use for money

I refused to co-operate in the execution of the sentence and was carried from the Hamilton County Jail and into the penitentiary when I arrived at Lewisburg. To pay the fine is also an act of co-operation to which I will never give my consent. I recognise that society may exact further penalties from me for my failure to do so. This is a choice that I make and with it I accept the possible results.

Word has recently come to me that friends are making plans to raise the money and pay the fine. I do not feel that anyone has the right to frustrate the will of another in such a decision as this by doing for him what he believes to be wrong. I know that the intention of those who want to pay the fine is good, but whatever their intentions are, I believe their friendship is misguided and that no one should do for someone else what he is unwilling to do for himself.

Several have said that it is on their consciences to pay it. I do not see how conscience enters into the matter. To pay the fine would be an act of goodwill, but I do not think it would be one of con-

science or of friendship because a friend will not violate the wishes and conscience of another. If people want to do something that would be a true act of friendship, let them collect \$250.00 and divide it equally between the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Peacemakers, announcing that this is my request since I want the money given to a cause in which I believe.

I wish to make it very clear that I know that those who are eager to pay the fine are motivated by a concern for my welfare, but I must also reiterate that I believe the paying of the fine would not be for my welfare but to the detriment of what I believe in and am trying to practise. For a year and a half I have been under severe attack which finally resulted in my imprisonment. I have gone through a good deal and am ready for conscience' sake to endure more. I earnestly hope that I will be allowed to take the course of what I believe to be right without interference.

## 5 million dollars worth of help

The American Friends Service Committee have just issued a report of a year's constructive peace activity in which this Quaker organisation has involved nearly 100,000 people (mostly non-Quakers); spent over \$5,000,000 (including nearly \$2,000,000 on food, clothing, textiles and supplies.)

Here is part of their record for the year ended Sept. 30, 1958:

- Emergency feeding for both sides of the civil strife in Lebanon;
- A rehabilitation centre for the handicapped in Yugoslavia assisted in training personnel;
- A programme of cultural exchanges with Russia;
- A petition for ending nuclear weapons tests which opened the way for new interest in the urgency of disarmament;
- International student seminars in South-East Asia involving 125 participants from 20 countries;
- High school study groups on international and inter-racial understanding in Little Rock, Houston, and Dallas.
- Drawn attention to the problem of housing minority groups in the northern cities of the USA;
- Expanded its American Indian programme into two additional areas in the Pacific South-West;
- Opened a home for recently released prisoners in Los Angeles;
- Conducted, with British Quakers, the first Quaker voluntary work camp in Poland since 1948;
- With the help of young volunteers undertaken an experimental project to make surveys of job opportunities for Negroes in Greensboro, North Carolina and of minority housing in Des Moines.



# THE NEW VITALITY

*Radicalism of the future is breaking through the tyranny of today*

By CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

ON the road to Aldermaston last year I had the good fortune to walk part of the way with Bayard Rustin, the Negro leader and Secretary of the US War Resisters' League.

It must have been one of the rare occasions in his life when he was incoherent. "All these young people," he kept saying, "all these young people . . . it's just unbelievable."

But it was true. The thousands of under-30s on the march were one of its most striking characteristics. I expect to see the same this week-end.

It is not long since we were thinking that this sort of response by the younger generation had vanished from British politics with the coming of World War II.

But in the last two and a half years we have seen a healthy enthusiasm to get out on to the streets in thousands and denounce unacceptable policies. Suez, Hungary, the Bomb, and recently Apartheid have all provoked such a response.

We are now moving rapidly into a new era in which a silent generation is finding its voice—and its strength. It is claiming the right to take part in the making of decisions which dictate its very survival.

**It is on the way this protest develops that also hangs the future of British radicalism.**

If it is to have a future it could be a brilliant one. It could readily apply its dynamic energy to a coherent new political philosophy which recognised the major problems confronting man. Indeed, it is clear that nothing short of this is adequate to meet the situation.

## Student marches

Today we are entering a fruitful new epoch in which fundamentals are being recognised. Notice what the major student marches have opposed: imperialism, cold war suppression, mass violence and wrong race relationships.

We are also seeing at this time a widespread realisation of the tyranny of the two-party system, the meaninglessness of "democracy" as at present practised, the inadequacy of nationalisation and of the welfare state, and the political helplessness of the individual.

Much of this is, of course, due to the corruptness of the official Labour Party, which has attracted so many people who saw in it a possible vehicle for radical change.

In this respect it is moving pretty fast in the wrong direction, and has confirmed itself as an alternative establishment.

It is ironic today to recall the atmosphere of the Second International.

Forget for a moment the class war dogma, from which no co-operative society can emerge. Before 1914 the British Labour Party joined discussions in which the Socialist International was trying to define its attitude to war, and to find means of preventing it by the united action of the working class.

## Corruption of the Left

There was intensive discussion of an international strike to stop any war, and this would have been debated at the Vienna Conference late in August, 1914.

Even as late as August, 1920, the threat of direct action—i.e., a General Strike—prevented Lloyd George from taking Britain to war against Russia.

Compare that atmosphere with today's. As we marched up the final slope to the H-bomb factory at Aldermaston last year, Mr. Gaitskell was at that very minute marching up the steps of the Paris headquarters of the NATO top brass!

I am not suggesting that the radicalism of the pre-1914 years was anything near perfect. There were some powerful authoritarian strains in it. But we can see how much events since then have been dictated by the corruption of the Left.

International socialism has been abandoned. The State has become the blessing, not the enemy, of man. The pro-

gramme of workers' control of industry has disappeared.

**On all fronts principles have been abandoned because the vision of man as an individual who matters, with cultural and spiritual needs, has been sacrificed.**

In its place we have seen compromise, militarism, authority, regimentation, bureaucracy, manipulation and contempt for life and liberty.

This steady process over half a century has never been challenged by a dynamic political group with a comprehensive philosophy.

## Three faults

Any Left grouping which did protest was brought to grief by one of three faults:

- It could not generate enough practical enthusiasm.
- Its programme was too narrow to comprehend the nature of the situation.
- It maintained its criticism within the framework of support for the corrupt institutions.

Now, however, there is the possibility of a movement arising which is crippled in none of these ways. There is a new atmosphere of vitality and we are seeing indications of the way forward.

For example, the introduction of non-violent civil disobedience into British political action is very significant. It removes the emphasis from Westminster to the point of application of policy.

The would-be opposition would say this is just what is not wanted.

For too long such people have been mesmerised by the centralised machinery of authority. They participate in "democracy" every five years by voting for the least evil of two, three or four packages of policies. They trust that they will have some hope of influencing their MP and that he in turn will have some influence in shaping the minor policies of his Party.

## New programme

People have now come along and announced part of a new programme: individuals can act today in accordance with principle if they are willing to pay the price—and the content of democracy will be increased in the process. At once vital elements appear: widespread free discussion based upon a consideration of the facts, respect for minority convictions and a regard for human values.

Then there is the coming General Election. At last significant groups are coming forward and declaring that they will withdraw their support from policies which they find abhorrent.

The Labour Party leadership has clearly been confronted with a new situation. Previously they have always been able to count in the last analysis on support at the polling booth from dissident groups on the Left. These groups always preferred grey to black.

**Look where this attitude has led to this century!**

Of course, some individuals have always been ready to withdraw their support, but now the process is becoming organised. "If you will not represent our views," the radicals tell their candidates, "you cannot expect to represent our bodies."

To those who have learned, like Sir Richard Acland at Gravesend, that the



Labour Party leadership is more interested in keeping the Bomb issue out of the House of Commons than in keeping the Tories out, the need for this approach will be clear.

Such action can effectively challenge a spineless "Opposition" which is collaborating with the Government on major issues. And the power of the challenge can be judged from the immediate reaction of the Labour hierarchy.

**The withdrawal of support for whatever is repugnant is the first step for radicals, and the necessary method of introducing a genuine opposition.**

But there is a clear indication of the disappearance of true radicalism from our political scene: some of the people who are most conscious of the terrible condition into which our politics have sunk are amongst the most passionate proclaimers that we have a genuine choice between supporting one or other of the authoritarian giants.

# WILL CANADA QUIT THE ARMS RACE?

Peace News Reporter

**THE Toronto Daily Star, the nation's most influential newspaper, has called on Canada to get out of the arms race.**

The long editorial, "It's Time Canada Quit Mad Arms Race," appeared the day after a United Church Board had called on Canada to set a moral example to the world by disarming as a matter of Christian principle.

The Board was meeting shortly after the Canadian Government had announced that it had terminated the development of the Avro Arrow jet interceptor fighter on which £108,000,000 had been spent.

The Board regretted the absence "of regard for the human distress" involved in the government's announcement (there is growing unemployment in Canada) and noted that many believed that there was no defence in the nuclear age except attack, and that such an attack was "a denial of the spirit and ethics of the Christian faith."

The Board had also heard Dr. Hugh Keenleyside, director of the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, tell them that Christian Churches had been complacent toward the atom bomb and failed to organise a campaign for peace.

He said leadership in trying to awaken the conscience of mankind to the threat of nuclear war had come for the most part from scientists, philosophers and occasionally politicians. He was speaking "as one who is not a member of the church."

## 'Blessing the bombs'

In Britain, he said, the real leaders of the group trying to draw attention to dangers are agnostics.

"If war came, humanity might well perish to the sound of ecclesiastics blessing the bombs and missiles," Dr. Keenleyside said.

Individual church leaders and the occasional church gathering had expressed hope that peace might be preserved, but seldom was there indication that this was the most critical moment in history.

Dr. Keenleyside said that even in these

days of balance of terror "we have men occupying positions of major responsibility in our Western alliance—politicians, admirals, air force generals, senior civil servants—who are still talking the language of the pre-atomic age."

## 'We can lick 'em'

"We can lick 'em" is a characteristic quotation; characteristic alike in its stupidity and in its proof of shallow irresponsibility.

"Yet this senile delinquent I have quoted has hydrogen bombs and atomic cannon under his direct command."

When the resolution was brought before the Board by Canada's veteran pacifist Dr. James Finlay there was a 7 to 4 majority in its favour; Dr. Finlay not voting since he is a corresponding member only.

After the vote he told the Toronto Star reporter Ron Lowman:

"We are not a great military power, but we could be such a great power for positive good and an example to the rest of the world if we would only divert our defence millions to the hungry peoples, to the peaceful use of atomic energy, to a real UN police force, and to education and social services.

"Someone has got to break out of this vicious cycle, and the break will never come unless somebody does what everybody thinks ought to be done.

By the following week the debate had spread to the Far West. In an editorial the Vernon (British Columbia) News said:

"The idea of scrapping our armed forces completely is a comparatively novel one which doesn't seem quite so novel since the scrapping of the Arrow. Scrapping the whole works would be just one step farther . . . gambling on peace, somehow, appears to be more constructive than gambling on war."

## 'A GLORIOUS OPPORTUNITY'

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide. . . ."

Canada's moment is at hand. We have got the Arrow albatross off our backs, and the questions to be decided are these:

Shall we now proceed to pour money into other weapons that will not protect us, or shall we divert that money to the work of building and healing which humanity desperately needs?

Shall we join the nuclear arms race—a race to universal death—or shall we declare ourselves out of it?

The Star believes Canada should stop buying weapons which won't buy us security in this nuclear age; should cut our defence spending sharply and put that money to better use . . .

We are spending \$1,700,000,000 a year for defence and weapons. By the inescapable logic of modern scientific developments, most of these precious weapons are obsolete almost as soon as they are developed—witness the Arrow. So now we are buying Bomarc missiles, which will soon be obsolete and replaced by more expensive instruments.

Yet what are we getting for our defence dollar? Listen to Maj.-Gen. W. H. S. Macklin, a former deputy chief of staff.

"If there is a first class nuclear war . . . all these radar chains, jet interceptors and Bomarc missiles will not prevent us from being destroyed . . . What survives will not be Canada . . ."

Economically, Canada can contribute to the fight against Communism and gets 20 times the value for every dollar spent on weapons; provided we get out of an arms race we cannot afford.

This doesn't mean lower taxes and more pleasure spending on new cars and TV sets. It means diverting the money from Bomarc into food and technical assistance for the hungry millions of Asia and Africa . . . —Toronto Daily Star, Editorial, Feb. 28, 1959.



## NYASALAND

### What they said

Quotes from the speeches at last Friday's Central Hall Meeting on Nyasaland, reported for Peace News by Constance Willis.

**FENNER BROCKWAY, MP:** I would like to say this to Sir Roy Welensky. If we support African claims it is not because they are African, but because they make for human equality.

**BARBARA CASTLE, MP:** We must tell them their struggles are understood and that there is among the British people still that consciousness alive today which will resist the sort of encroachment that is being made upon the most elementary civil liberties of the African people which we are pledged to defend.

**CANON L. JOHN COLLINS:** "Violence is always wrong, but it is real hypocrisy for those who insist on the use of force to restrain the legitimate movements of subject peoples towards their emancipation. We of the West are prepared to use H-bombs against Russia in order to preserve our way of life. How then can the white man expect the African to remain non-violent in his demands to reach his legitimate ends?"

**IVAN SPENCE (former magistrate in West Africa):** It does not pay to have contempt for Africans.

**KANYAMA CHIUME (Dr. Banda's representative):** It is not too late to get the friendship of my country. The duty of the British public is to bring pressure to bear on the Government to remove troops from Nyasaland immediately, to release the prisoners, and send an independent commission.

**JOHN STONEHOUSE, MP:** We must say "Hands off the two Northern protectorates" (Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia). There must be no chance of Federal independence before the Africans have an opportunity for human rights and dignity. One of two stewards injured in ejecting the Empire Loyalists and racists (whose activities rather than the speeches were widely reported) was taken to hospital with a head wound. Messages were sent to the prisoners in Africa, including Dr. Banda and Guy Clutton-Brock. The collection amounted to £228.

### The Cross and the Bomb

"WE need to take Christ's revolutionary way, and His message to heart now," Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale told a crowded meeting in Ealing (West London) last week.

Speaking with Reginald Sorenson, MP, at one of the meetings in a Fellowship of Reconciliation campaign, "The Cross and the Bomb—Where Stands the Christian?" she said:

"We have no money to spend for wars of destruction if we are to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and tend the sick as Christ commanded."

### Flashback on fall-out

"The physicists appear to be cocksure. They claim 100 per cent accuracy, but just as it is necessary that 'justice shall be seen to have been done,' I submit that the inner circle of advisers to Governments should not only be right but should be 'seen to be right.'"

"This can only be secured by a relaxation of secrecy on the scientific aspect of nuclear energy developments and by some form of international consultation before novel and greatly increased releases of energy are attempted."—Sir Robert Robinson, Nobel Prizewinner, and one of the world's greatest chemists, in his Presidential Address to the British Association, 1955.

### IN PN NEXT WEEK

Photos by Roger Mayne and a report of the march from Aldermaston will appear in Peace News next week.

Place an order with your newsagent or use the trial subscription coupon on page five.

## Votes and the Bomb

AS a member of the Labour Party I am puzzled how MPs who march from Aldermaston can possibly abstain from voting against things like Defence Estimates for nuclear war.

After the rally at Trafalgar Square I hope something of the spirit of Nelson's bold leadership will inspire these MPs to modify their attitude to the Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party.—**OWEN DAVID EVANS, 12, Elmwood Road, London, S.E.24.**

IT must be clear to everyone concerned now that persistence in the tactic of the Voters' Veto will seriously split the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Many Labour and progressive people are going to be deeply confused by such an attitude.

I realise the necessity for making some gesture at the coming General Election. Can we not make it a positive one instead of what must seem to many supporters a disturbingly negative one?

By positive I mean that we should decide to put forward Campaign candidates in, say, ten non-marginal constituencies. This would give an opportunity to test public opinion without destroying the loyalties of many supporters.—**A. E. SIMPSON, 45 Eastern Avenue, Pinner, Middlesex.**

THE question which is now being debated among supporters of the various anti-nuclear weapon organisations is: "To which party, if any, shall we give our vote?" May I, as a member of one of the minority parties, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, which has been mentioned as a possible recipient of such votes, clarify the position?

While it is true that the SPGB is opposed to war and is opposed unconditionally to all weapon tests of any kind by any government, we do not seek support at election times on specific issues other than that of socialism, in the sense that we mean, i.e., a world-wide system, without frontiers, where the means of production and distribution are held in common and production is carried on in a democratically organised manner solely in order to meet human needs.

In our election literature we write to ensure, as far as possible, that only people who agree with our fundamental position will vote for our candidate. No advantage can ever accrue to a genuine socialist party from vote-catching.

May I suggest, therefore, to those who wish to eliminate specific weapons of mass destruction, be they bacteriological, nuclear or otherwise, but think that they can be abolished without a radical change in the social productive relations of modern society, that they do not give their vote to any candidate that we may put up at the next election.

Members of the SPGB vote only for

## LETTERS

SPGB candidates, or where there are none, they abstain.

Our view is that there is no way out of the contemporary dilemma other than by the building of a new kind of society.—**J. BRADLEY, c/o 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, London, N.8.**

### BPC and Aldermaston

I WAS surprised to read Phyz's comments in last week's issue concerning British Peace Committee support for the Aldermaston Marches of both last year and this.

In order that the record may be clear I should like to make the following points.

At the meeting of the General Council of the British Peace Committee held on March 2, 1958, a resolution was passed giving "full support to the policy of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament." This is still BPC policy. From that meeting a call went out to all our supporters urging them to join in the Aldermaston March, and together with our chairman, Gordon Schaffer, I and many others from all over the country were proud to march behind the British Peace Committee banner last Easter. We will do so again this year.

I am sure that this year's call will be answered in the same way as before by our supporters who include both "unilateral-

ists" and "non-unilateralists" who are united in their resolve to get rid of nuclear weapons and who refuse to allow divisive tactics to hinder them in their work for peace.

The British Peace Committee is proud of its record of opposition to nuclear weapons and it is far less curious for it to support the CND than it is for the Quakers to support a body whose Executive contains a number of well-known agnostics and atheists. The British Peace Committee is not against unilateral action on nuclear weapons by Britain or any other power and would wholeheartedly welcome any such step by any power in the world.—**W. R. T. GORE, former Secretary BPC, 78 Upper Park Road, London, N.W.3.**

Phyz writes: *It is very sad that unilateralists have strayed into the BPC camp, because it is well known that its parent organisation, the World Peace Council, does not stand for such a sincere attitude. At WPC conferences we hear BPC condemnations of US militarism and imperialism, but not of that of the USSR. At present no representative of the committees of the Soviet bloc nations who attends such conferences criticises his own Government's militarism.*

### THE CROSS AND THE BOMB? Where stands the Christian?

Hear  
Rev. CANON CARPENTER, MA, PhD  
Rev. CLIFFORD MACQUIRE SIDNEY OSBORN, BSc  
ERIC TUCKER

Chairman: Rev. MARK F. J. SHIRLEY, BA

at Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1 Thursday, 16th April, 1959, 7.15 p.m.  
Doors open 6.45 p.m. Reserved Seats 1s.

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### JOIN THE PROTEST MARCH AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS

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Antoinette PIRIE, Donald SOPER

CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

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GREEN

ALBERT

HALL

1 p.m.

HYDE PARK

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VICTORIA

WHITEHALL

Trafalgar

Square

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From Moscow Ralph Parker reports on the Muscovites' reactions to

## THE MAN FROM THE OTHER SIDE

AS Mr. Macmillan left the Central House of Journalists on his last afternoon in Moscow a crowd of several hundred people stood in the snow-clad gardens of Suvorov Boulevard to applaud him.

They were not a *delegatsia*, there were no officials among them, they were quite literally "men in the street," drably if warmly dressed, willing to wait an hour in the wintry sunshine to catch a glimpse of the man who had spoken to them from their TV screens on the previous evening. And the fact that they applauded means a good deal, for out of doors the Russians are a singularly undemonstrative people.

I think these ordinary men and women who had given up their lunch hour to greet Macmillan applauded because they recognised in his visit to Moscow a serious attempt to end the cold war. A few days before I attended a meeting to commemorate the Burns bicentenary, and on this occasion I noted that the applause was loudest—and then, indoors, it was really warm and prolonged—whenever any of the speakers, British or Russian, mentioned the desirability of ending the cold war.

In this context Macmillan represented more than Britain, and despite the incontrovertible fact that he brought with him no mandate to negotiate for Britain's allies, to the average Muscovite he was the "man from the other side," and his visit was a token of a desire for a general *rapprochement* between East and West.

### 'One world' conscious

Thus the strictly Anglo-Soviet aspect of the visit tended to take second place in people's minds. The main impression the British Prime Minister made on those tens of millions who read or heard his speeches was of the willingness of the West to negotiate its differences with their own land. And Macmillan's reasonableness, the rather surprising warmth with which he praised Soviet achievements "which the British people do not envy," his skillful advocacy of the very "live and let live" policy which the Russians themselves champion in more cumbersome terms—these added up to a picture of a man who came to Moscow in search of peace.

I believe it is true to say that in Russia today the fear of a "hot" war has receded considerably, but that it has left behind it a burning resentment against the "cold" one. People are fed up to the teeth with radio-jamming, speeches by belligerent US generals, and travel restrictions.

Many things have happened during the past few years that have made the Soviet people "one world" conscious. There are still some isolationists, people who have so little trust in their own people or whose minds have become so ossified with prejudice that they follow the new line of "peaceful co-existence" most grudgingly. But their influence is waning.

### An idea shaped

True, now and again they pop up to reprimand some artist who on return from a triumphant tour of the US delivers a public lecture which, in their opinion, is insufficiently critical of capitalism and so on; but, by and large, the future belongs to those who, not without prudence, are seeking to expand the Soviet Union's contacts—political, economic, cultural and simply human—with the rest of the world. And they know it does.

In this setting the Macmillan visit was important. No prominent Western statesman has, to the Russian people's knowledge, spoken about their country and its achievements with such ungrudging praise, no one in a position of such authority has given them before so strong a feeling that they, their Soviet land, their own way of living, are accepted in the West as facts. And this has helped to shape the idea in the Soviet mind that a live and let live policy can work, that it is not merely a temporary balancing of the scales which may be expected to tip one way or the other in the future. Willy-nilly, Macmillan has undone much of the harm that Dulles' fervent anti-Communism did for years.

There are objective reasons why the Soviet leaders want an end to the cold war and are prepared to compromise with the West on a good many questions, provided their compromises do not lead to what they consider the greatest menace to a lasting peace—the re-establishment of Germany as a great, independent, nuclear-armed military power. For example, I believe the political leadership of this country is able at this stage to impose its views on those military advisers who are probably reluctant to see a policy of controlled disengagement applied in Central Europe, and that it will do so if its initiative is met by Western action in this direction.

### Khrushchov's dependence

It is important to bear in mind that today Khrushchov and his supporters in the Central Committee need the support of public opinion as they have never needed it before. After three years of deployment and reorganisation they have launched a new plan which differs in at least two most important respects from the earlier quinquennial plans. First, whether this plan succeeds or fails depends very largely on the extent that ten, perhaps hundreds of thousands of people commit themselves to working for it with all their powers, in other words, on the state of morale of all those in key positions. And their morale will be greatly affected by the extent to which they believe their government's foreign policy is proving successful in maintaining and consolidating world peace. Secondly, the people will be the judge as to whether the new plan is succeeding.

No five-year plan in the past set out in simple terms the benefits that would accrue to the public as production increased—the reduction of working hours, the increases in minimum wages, etc., which are the present targets. In the past the criterion of success was statistical reports on increased

production; but the measure of success of this plan will be available to everyone who works and consumes in terms of working hours, wages, and the merchandise in the shops.

### The need to convince

The party leaders and the vast propaganda machine they control are engaged in a tremendous campaign to persuade the Soviet people to enlist their total energy, enthusiasm and will to strive ahead in the cause of the new seven-year plan. There must be no mental reservations, no lurking thoughts that there may be a return to the methods used in the past to put people to work, the coercion, the shifting of responsibility, the offering of high rewards to the few; no thoughts too that all this effort may go up in the mushroom cloud of an atomic explosion.

Experience has taught the Russian people that everyone's life is affected by a radical change of the party line, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse; and it has taught them too that everyone stands to lose from war, whether fought with conventional or nuclear weapons.

Thus Khrushchov has vital political reasons to convince his people that their government is making every effort to establish a stable peace, just as it has to reassure them that there will be return to the past in home affairs.

It would be naive to assume—and Macmillan certainly did not so assume—that Khrushchov's idea of peace includes anything that would entail a weakening of "socialist power" in the countries of the Warsaw pact or a strengthening of German militarism. But observers here believe that as a result of the British statesman's visit the Russian leaders are less suspicious of Western intentions in Eastern Europe and of their plans for Germany. And that is something.

## WHY I AM MARCHING

Michael Howard, whose superb organisation was a feature of last year's march, is chief marshal again this year.

### Michael Howard says

BECAUSE the March from Aldermaston expresses my belief that it is within the power of the human spirit to defeat the death-wish symbolised by the H-bomb; because I challenge the right of any Government to attempt to involve me in a conspiracy to commit genocide; because as yet only a fraction of our fellow citizens know anything about the murderous work being done in our name behind that wire fence, and because I remember the boy of 15 who, with sodden shoes, marched beside me on the road to Aldermaston last year, and, turning to me, asked: "Do you think we shall stop them using it?" His query is still unanswered, but if, as I believe, the March from Aldermaston takes us towards the point at which we can answer "yes" to his question—then every step we take will be worth whatever effort we make.

Gwen Catchpool is a Quaker who, with her late husband Corder Catchpool, has spent a lifetime in war resistance and reconciliation projects.

### Gwen Catchpool says

I AM planning to join the march as a member of the older generation, because I am many times a grandmother. The lovely children who are growing up cannot be allowed such a world to live in as is rapidly being prepared for them by the present leaders of the nations.

I believe that "the long, long night is over" and there are strong signs that "England is risen" as Edward Carpenter wrote, and with thoughtful people in many countries will go forward into a new age; the thousands marching in these demonstrations are a proof that "the day is here."

I have this great hope because I believe that it is God's world; the young who are gradually taking our places have seen the Vision, whatever name they give it, and "will not cease from mental fight" until a happier world is built for future generations.

Konrad Tempel is a German War Resister, and a member of the Action group for Non-violence. He is a teacher in Hamburg.

### Konrad Tempel says

BECAUSE by protest and resistance we, the common people, can help the politicians to realise the nature of the situation

## AND ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

### Sybil Morrison says

NUCLEAR weapons are the most barbarously wholesale method of slaughter and destruction that the exigencies of war have so far evolved; if they are ever used the human race may perish. But it is not nuclear weapons that threaten us with war; it is war that threatens us with nuclear weapons. So, clearly, it is war that must go.

Many pacifists while agreeing absolutely with this conception of the situation, believe that to get rid of nuclear weapons would be a step towards getting rid of war. There are other pacifists, however, who can find no evidence to justify that assumption; the very fact that so long as there is any possibility of a so-called "conventional" war, nuclear weapons could be produced even if every country had abandoned them previously, makes it clear that there is no answer to the H-bomb within the framework of reliance upon war.

There is little chance of persuading governments to abolish specific weapons while that framework remains, and indeed, to attempt to persuade a government that still relies upon the method of war, to

that we are in. Because I want to show my British friends the solidarity of more than 2,000 organised COs in Germany; to encourage them in the face of the possible suicide of humanity.

Most importantly, I don't want my pupils to ask me: "Did you help?"

### Fenner Brockway, MP says

I SHALL join in the march from Aldermaston (for a much shorter period than I would like) because I believe it will help awaken the British people to the greatest peril of our time—the menace of human destruction—and to the greatest hope of our time—the use of science to remove poverty and disease from the earth.

abandon the weapon it believes to be the most effective, is totally unrealistic.

It seems, therefore, to some pacifists, that to campaign for the removal of these weapons is not a matter of not going far enough, but a much more serious matter of going in an entirely wrong direction.

Time is short, and energy is limited, otherwise both could perhaps be expended on going in the wrong direction in order to convert the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to a different point of view. As it is, glamorous and comradely and exciting though it is to march in big crowds (and I have some considerable experience of that peculiarly satisfying stimulation) it still seems to some pacifists that as, in their opinion, the only way to abolish nuclear weapons is to abolish war, they cannot support what is to them a campaign for putting the cart before the horse.

When people have committed themselves to refusal to take part in war, governments will have to listen; this is the only sure way to the abolition of all war and all weapons.

That is why some of us will not be marching in what we believe to be the wrong direction.

## War by mistake or accident

A new eight-page pamphlet, "There is a Way Out," is the latest addition to American publications directed against nuclear weapons. It has a significant quotation from M.K. Gandhi on its front page: "The bomb will not be destroyed by counter-bombs, even as violence cannot be destroyed by counter-violence. Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence," and includes the following three quotes:

"MISSILE warfare will leave little time for decisions or their execution. At most, there will be a 15-minute warning of an attack by hostile missiles. . . . Inevitably, many important decisions will have to be delegated to lower echelons, perhaps to the launch officer . . . (This means) the possibility of warfare by mistake or accident. Warning systems may be ambiguous."—From "1970 Without Arms Control," National Planning Association, Washington, D.C., May, 1958.

"A MISSILE battery, said the Army, was no more dangerous a neighbour than a gas station. Last week the gas station blew up. Installing a trigger modification on one of the 526th B Battery Nikes near Leonardo, N.J., ordnance technicians accidentally detonated the missile. Explosion and flame touched off seven more Nikes squatting on adjacent pads, blew or burned ten men to death, showered a three-mile radius with fragments."—Time, June 2, 1958.

The pamphlet is issued "as an educational service" by the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa., 10 cents. Each, 5 dollars 100 post-paid, and is obtainable from all AFSC regional offices.

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## DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, March 27

ALDERMASTON: 12 noon: Falcon Field. Mtg. and Service. 1 p.m.: Start of March. CND.

ALTON: 9.45 a.m.: Coach to Aldermaston for March to London. Phone Ted Berrow, Alton 2121, for last few seats. Alton PPU.

LONDON, S.W.18: 7.30 p.m. 13 Elsenham St., Southfields. The Vedantic Outlook by Swami Avyak-tananda—Liberation. Vedanta Movement.

Saturday, March 28

LONDON, W.C.2: 4 p.m. Manette St. (Foyle's Corner, Charing Cross Rd.). Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Monday, March 30

LONDON: 2.30 p.m.: Trafalgar Sq. Final rally Aldermaston to London March. Canon Collins, Michael Foot, John Horner, Antoinette Pirie, Donald Soper. CND.

LONDON, W.1: 4.15 p.m.: Partisan Coffee House Library, 7 Carlisle St. Meeting for participants in Watton and Stevenage projects. Direct Action.

Wednesday, April 1

HUDDERSFIELD: 7.30 p.m.: Fraternity Hall, Alfred St. AGM Huddersfield CND.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7 p.m. Magdalen Club, 83 Werrington St. Talk and film on International Help for Children. John Barclay. IVS.

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 7 p.m. 78A Norman Road. Raymond Williams, MA. "Russians at Oxford". PPU.

Thursday, April 2

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Walter Hall. "Improving Ourselves." PPU.

Friday, April 3

EPSOM: 7.45 p.m.: Myers Hall, Ashley Rd. Free Film Show. Portrait of Power; Swaffham; African Conflict; Japanese Fishermen. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

HULL: 7.30 p.m.: 6 Bond St. Group Mtg. PPU. LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m.: Committee Room A, Town Hall. Lecture and Film Show by John Barclay, "International Help for Children." Int. College of Paedology.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m.: Caxton Hall. Danilo Dolci—The Gandhi of Sicily. Speakers: Tom Driberg, Ricardo Arango. Chair: Prof. Ross Waller. Readings from Dolci's works. Danilo Dolci Cttee.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m.: Bowes Park Meth. Ch., Bowes Rd. "Nuclear Knowledge and Christian Responsibilities." Discussion. Meth. Peace Fell.

Wednesday, April 8

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.: Assembly Rooms, High St. Film Show on Racial Questions. Opened by Coun. W. H. Shipley. PPU. Free Church Council and Rural Decanal Conference.

Thursday, April 9

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Wallace Hancock on his pamphlet, "Direct Action." PPU.

## Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open air mtg. The Brotherhood of the Way.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

## ADVANCE ON THE LEFT!

This week's issue of TRIBUNE contains a special supplement describing the changes which are taking place in politics, the trade unions, universities and the arts.

Contributors include:

**John Osborne**  
**Paul Rotha**  
**Michael Foot**  
**Raymond Williams**  
**Stephen Swinger**

Copies are on sale during the Aldermaston March, from newsagents or from

**TRIBUNE, 222 STRAND, LONDON W.C.2.**

## Fenner Brockway, MP, on the Central African crisis

# FASCIST LAWS THAT SHOCKED THE WORLD



MY main theme must still be Central Africa. But, first, there are other important developments to record in the progress towards freedom in the British colonies.

First, a little belated, a welcome to self-governing Northern Nigeria. It is now of equal status with East and West Nigeria and next year all three will be independent: the largest extension of independence since India's freedom in 1947.

Congratulations to Northern Nigeria! Good wishes to all Nigeria!

Secondly, there is the attainment of internal self-government by Singapore. Newspaper correspondents from the Manchester Guardian to The Times have been suggesting that this island, at the toe of Malaya, is not ready for self-government. It is still less ready for the refusal of self-government. That would involve conflict with the population, states of emergency, the calling in of troops, and all the pattern of repression.

Admittedly, self-government will involve problems of the relations between the Chinese populations and the Malayan population. Admittedly it will involve a political struggle between those amongst the Chinese who look with pride to China and accept its Communist methods and those who believe in political democracy. But these differences must be settled by the people themselves in a State for which they are responsible. One cannot avoid or evade these issues by bottling them up to the point of explosion in an alien-controlled regime.

## SELF GOVERNMENT

Thirdly, let us give recognition to the great changes which are impending in Tanganyika. Under the able leadership of Julius Nyerere the African National Union won an overwhelming victory in the recent elections even though in each constituency an Asian and European representative had to be elected as well as an African.

Immediately, the Ministerial Council of twelve is to have five members representing the elected legislature and a representative committee is to recommend further constitutional changes. Tanganyika hasn't anything like democratic self-government yet, but the line of no-return has now been passed. Within a very few years Tanganyika will be self-governing and independent, a magnet of achievement for the whole of East and Central Africa.

Fourthly, in two months time representatives of the British colonies in the West Indies will be in London to demand independence for their Federation by 1960. I am not sure that they will get sovereignty by that date, but certainly within the next three years the Caribbean Islands will become an independent Federation with the right to apply for membership of the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

## REVELATION

So the river of freedom pours on, irresistible, with all the strength of history behind its waters.

That is true, even in Central Africa. The die-hard element among the European settlers, the Welenskys and the Whiteheads, may dam the flow of the torrent for a time, but no obstacles can permanently prevent it reaching the lake of democracy and the ocean of human equality.

Indeed, the events of the past few weeks have been decisive on the side not of European domination but of African freedom. No one now believes that Nyasaland can be retained within a Federation governed by the Welenskys and Whiteheads against the will of its populations. The whole world has had a revelation of what a Welensky-Whitehead administration means.

The new legislation which has been introduced by Sir Edgar Whitehead in Southern Rhodesia, not for an emergency,

mark you, but as the permanent law of the territory, has shocked everyone who has a drop of liberal blood in his veins.

It has shocked the Opposition, even though it was regarded as more reactionary than the Government. It has shocked the Anglican Church, although it is ordinarily circumspect in what it says in the Rhodesias. It has, of course, shocked the more liberal ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd and his colleagues, although in progressive countries they would be regarded as moderate conservatives rather than as radicals.

The Unlawful Organisation Bill, which I described last week, under which suspected members of one of the established African organisations, or of any organisation which the Governor decides to name, can be fined £1,000 or sentenced to five years' imprisonment, unless he can prove that he is not a member—that is to say, he is "guilty" until he demonstrates he is "innocent"—this Bill has been followed by another which is even more fascist in character.

It amends the Native Affairs Act and applies to Africans only. It makes any African who is "insolent" to an officer of the Southern Rhodesian or Federal Government, or who is "contemptuous" in his behaviour towards him, liable to a fine of £50 or to six months imprisonment. It prohibits any meeting of more than twelve Africans in the native reserves or tribal areas without the permission of the Native Commissioner and the local African Chief (a paid servant of the Government). Anyone who holds an illegal meeting will be liable to a fine of £100 or to six months imprisonment.

## INTERVENTION

Southern Rhodesia (although power rests with the European minority) is already outside the control of the British Parliament, with one important qualification. Westminster is allowed to intervene if any legislation is introduced which embodies racial discrimination. I should have thought there is no doubt that these Bills are discriminatory; they impose restrictions on Africans only. My colleague John Stonehouse has tabled a motion for the House of Commons asking for British intervention. The motion has been signed widely by Labour and Liberal members.

We are in the presence of great historic events in Central Africa. This may prove the last important struggle before the principle of human equality is recognised. It will be a severe struggle. It may be a long struggle. All Africa, all Asia, all liberal-minded people in Europe, America, every part of the world, must support our African brothers and those courageous Europeans in Central Africa who stand with them.

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## NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS

We have to be careful that we keep this very highly scientific question (radio-active fall-out) in the hands of those who are really the most suited to deal with it.—Prime Minister Macmillan, House of Commons, March 5, 1959.

The area in which bombs were assumed to have been dropped (during a Civil Defence exercise) comprised the whole of Great Britain, and it would not be in the public interest to give further details.—Home Secretary Butler, House of Commons, March 4, 1959.

## CLASSIFIED

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4

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### PERSONAL

ALDERMASTON TO LONDON. Nuclear Disarmament Campaigners who are members of the Labour Party and would like to take part in the activities of the Labour Peace Fellowship should write to the Secretary, Denis Brian, 24a Breakspears Road, London, S.E.4, who will forward details of membership and free literature.

CAMPBELL, DUTT and GOLLAN will display the first applied meaning to Socialism. J. Melman, E.3.

IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase: L 3 3 6 9 4 3. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

LONELY? Childless couples, etc., offered friendship by couple with two children in return for similar. South, Box 814.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

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PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, Stationers), Finsbury Park (nr. sta.), N.4.

### SITUATIONS WANTED

FRIEND OF TRUTH, gifts, experience, in editing, typing, etc., invites suggestions individual jobs or ongoing work, wholly or mainly at home (able leave home occasional short periods), especially for progress: e.g. peace, humanitarianism, communication, etc. Time accommodative, remuneration moderate, references if required. Geoffrey Goodwin, Hedgehog House, Pant, Oswestry, Salop.





1,187 March 27, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## DIRECT ACTION IN STEVENAGE

### Don't let this be a rocket town

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

**STEVENAGE NEW TOWN**, built to house the homeless of World War II, is producing Blue Streak and other guided missiles which could annihilate millions in a future war. That is why the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War is to hold its next demonstration there, immediately after Easter.

Situated 30 miles from London, in Hertfordshire, Stevenage encompasses two large missile-producing factories—English Electric and De Havilland's.

The campaign there, which will be completely non-violent, will include poster parading, leafleting and canvassing.

The people of Stevenage are being asked by the Direct Action Committee to:

- 1 Protest against the use to which their town is being put. Over half the workers in Stevenage were reported by the News Chronicle as being employed in missile production. The town's economy is largely dependent upon rockets;
- 2 Consider their own individual responsibility as a worker in missile-producing factories or as an inhabitant of the town;
- 3 Appeal to the Development Corporation to seek to bring alternative industry into the town so that workers engaged on missile production can find other employment, and so that school-leavers have a wider choice of work.

## POSTER PARADES

The demonstration will begin with house-to-house leafleting on Tuesday, March 31. It will be followed by several days poster parading throughout the town and will end with a door-to-door canvass. The demonstration is expected to finish with an open-air meeting in the New Town Centre on Saturday, April 11.

Terence Chivers, local organiser of the demonstration told Peace News: "I hope that many people who are marching from Aldermaston to London will come to my home town where nuclear weapons are being made and ask the people of Steven-

**A** SMALL boy, a few weeks ago, tore off the tiny shoots just pushing up in my window-box; the box is very near the ground, the temptation very great, and anyway he was much too young to know that those tender green leaves were one day to be daffodils.

Yet, behold! In spite of that horrid mutilation; in spite of cold north winds and fog and frost, daffodils have blossomed in my window-box. As I write they bow their delicate heads to a bitter East wind, but always raising them again to challenge mankind to an equal courage.

Spring is on the way; the hedges turn from drab to green, the bare branches burgeon into lovely pink, or white, or mauve, or shining brilliant green; the rising sap has not withheld its promise, and the miracle of life-force challenges the destroyers and the war-makers, the doubters and the fearful.

On that day so long ago, when Pilate washed his hands of the responsibility of one man's death, he did not know that for thousands of years he would be held as the symbol of vacillatory, cowardly escape from liability.

Today there lies upon man the fearful

# U.S. War Dept. reports increased H-DUST PERIL

**STRONTIUM 90** may be accumulating on the earth's surface twice as rapidly as was previously calculated. Its concentration is greater in the United States than in any other area of the world.

These are two of the statements in the latest US Defence Department report, published last week-end.

The strontium released by nuclear explo-

sions, the report shows, is remaining in the stratosphere only about two years, instead of the six years which the AEC had estimated.

Senator Clinton Anderson, chairman of the atomic energy committee of Congress,

had for several weeks been urging the Pentagon to publish the report.

He accused the Atomic Energy Commission of attempting to suppress it because its findings would contradict the hopeful view of the dangers of fall-out that has always been taken by the AEC.

As Senator Anderson put it, the report would "upset some of those running around saying fall-out is no more dangerous than the luminous dial of a watch."

Officials of the AEC now reply that the findings on which the report is based are insufficient for firm conclusions.

Last Friday Mr. Quarles, Deputy Secretary of Defence, admitted that there would in due course be fall-out on the earth from the Argus test explosions 300 miles out in space.

Meanwhile, Minnesota scientists have found a batch of northern plains wheat, grown between 1956 and 1958, that contained more than six times the supposed tolerable limit of nuclear fall-out produced strontium 90.

The batch was one of 30 sampled from ten areas over a three-year period.

## Over the "safe limit"

The scientists said the strontium 90 average of all 1958 wheat crop samplings was one and a half times the "safe limit" set out by the Atomic Energy Commission. The 1956 crop was barely over the limit.

Maurice B. Vissler, head of the University of Minnesota Medical School's physiology department, said, "The situation undoubtedly will get worse if the world continues nuclear bomb tests."

In Europe radiation figures are up 400 per cent. This underlines reports that Russian atomic tests last autumn doubled the amount of radio-active material in the atmosphere.

Within weeks of the Russian tests a Swedish radiation expert had complained to the United Nations. He said that so much radio-active debris was falling in Sweden that elks grazing on the northern—and most contaminated—pastures were showing 200 per cent increases in the amount of radiation in their bones.

In Holland recently Mr. Erb, closely connected with the Dutch atomic energy programme, confirmed the measurements by the Royal Meteorological Institute, local water boards and the Royal Institute of Public Health.

These all showed an increase of between 400 and 450 per cent in the general level of radio-activity.

In Brussels Dr. Recht, head of Euratom's health division, agreed that all six Euratom members had recorded increases. At the end of the year Euratom hopes to start publishing monthly bulletins on radio-activity levels.

numbers so small. It is then, at that moment when we face our responsibility and are dismayed at our inadequacy, that the remembrance of Spring, the remembrance of the yearly resurrection from death to life is there to strengthen and inspire us.

If it needs a miracle to save man from his own folly and his own sin we should not, with the ever recurring miracle of life's rebirth constantly before us, even pause to doubt its possibility.

Nevertheless, no one can escape their own responsibility: we dare not wash our hands, nor say: "I am innocent" so long as there is even one action to be taken, or one word to be spoken, against the evil of war, which has brought this dreadful threat to the existence of the human race.

The efforts of pacifists may seem small against the vast forces of adherence to the method of war, but spring reminds us that where the good seed falls, good fruit will live, and where there is even one miracle of re-birth there is the possibility of another. In that faith we go forward in our struggle for a warless world.

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## CANVASSING FOR ALDERMASTON



Two members of Chichester Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament canvassing for support for the Aldermaston March in the busy streets of their town recently. Centre is Mrs. Regine Bowden, secretary of the local CND, who lost her full-time job in the town's Labour Party office after directing a large-scale nuclear disarmament campaign during the last by-election in which local campaigners attended 27 election meetings in Chichester. The Labour candidate gave support to the campaign but later recanted.

## Michael Scott on PN

**THE** Rev. Michael Scott has joined the Board of Peace News Ltd., the non-profit making company which owns Peace News, Housmans Bookshop and Endsleigh Cards.

He fills a vacancy caused by the death of Reginald Reynolds.

## PEACE NEWS SOS

PEACE NEWS S.O.S., temporary short-hand-typing help urgently needed, full or part-time, paid position. Please apply, the Manager, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

By Sybil Morrison

## The miracle of life

... he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it.

—St. Matthew XXVII. 24.

responsibility of consent to preparation for war which might destroy even the life-force which not only gives birth to man, but each year brings forth the fruits by which man lives, and the beauties by which man feasts his eyes and renews his spirit.

Those who continue with preparations for war, who use armies, navies and air force either to threaten or suppress, cannot wash their hands of the heavy responsibility for preparing eventually to destroy the human race, and perhaps even to destroy the recurring miracle of spring, since the earth itself could be so contaminated that all life might be extinguished.

The speeches of the statesmen in both East and West today have an ominous resemblance to the words of Pontius Pilate. Mr. Eisenhower, for instance, declares that

if it becomes necessary to use force over Berlin he washes his hands of responsibility since it will be entirely the fault of Mr. Khrushchev. Mr. Khrushchev has also indulged in quite a bit of hand-washing when he accuses the West of entire responsibility for a situation that might make war inevitable.

The small boy who plucked so ruthlessly at my small daffodil shoots "knew not what he did," but statesmen cannot be excused on those grounds. They know very well what they do, and those people who suspect what they do, who believe what they do to be mistaken and evil and immoral, cannot and must not also wash their hands.

The sense of frustration, of inability to make any impact assails us all, especially when our efforts seem so puny, and our